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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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5 February 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

STATISTICS ON RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS: ROMANIA

[Editorial Report] The following information was published in the Hungarian Catholic weekly UJ EMBER, No XL 48, 25 Nov 84 p 2. These statistics are the third group in a series. As the original note in the weekly indicated, the figures are from the yearly report of the United Bible Societies. The first part of these statistics appeared in JPRS-EPS-84-143, 20 November 1984 p 1; the second in JPRS-EPS-85-003, 7 January 1985.

ROMANIA

Area	237,499 square km
Population	22,200,000
Yearly population growth	0.9 percent
Those under 15 years of age	28.0 percent
Orthodox	62.7 percent
Protestant	5.8 percent
Roman Catholic	4.9 percent
Jewish	0.5 percent
Not religious	9.0 percent
Atheist	6.9 percent
Muslim	1.2 percent
Other	9.0 percent

CSO: 2500/159

ALBANIA

NORTHERN PART OF COUNTRY HIT BY HEAVY SNOW

Leaders Tour Districts

AU121439 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 12 Jan 85

[Text] Tirana, 12 January (ATA)--On the instruction of the Central Committee of the party and the government, the party and state leaders Rita Marko, Hekuran Isai, Simon Stefani, Qirjako Mihali, Besnik Bektashi and Vagjel Cerrava have gone to the districts of Mat, Mirdite, Diber and Shkoder.

In these districts, the heavy snowfall of the recent days have created an extraordinary situation. The party and state leaders together with the party and power organs at the base are assisting the people of the zones affected by this natural calamity. They are helping in opening the roads blocked by the snow in the direction of Puke, Diber, Kukes, Tropoje, the Malesi e Shkodres [highlands], etc., and in overcoming in general all the difficulties created for the complete normalisation of the situation.

Likewise the Central Committee of the party and the Council of Ministers have sent telegrams of condolences to the families of the victims from this calamity of nature. These telegrams express the profound grief of the party, of Comrade Enver Hoxha, of the government for the untimely death of their beloved people and express the conviction that, having the party and their people's state by their side they will turn their grief into strength to carry always forward the work for the construction of socialism and defence of the homeland, along with the entire people.

ZERI I POPULLIT Editorial

AU131548 Tirana ATA in English 0815 GMT 13 Jan 85

[Text] Tirana, 13 January (ATA)--As it has been reported, the heavy snow that fell uninterruptedly for several days has created an extraordinary situation and caused numerous difficulties in some districts in the north of the country such as in Puke, Kukes, Tropoje, Diber and Malesia e Shkodres, etc., writes the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT in its editorial today. The snow which in some areas has reached the level of 2-3 meters, is becoming more and more dangerous and is usually accompanied by strong winds and storms, by low temperatures and avalanches. The latter have reportedly caused also deaths.

To the entire people and for the party, the loss in human lives is the gravest because man in socialism is most precious. The profound grief of the families and relatives of the victims is shared by our entire people. The party and the people's state power, all our people educated with the sentiment of socialist solidarity, are by their side.

The snowfall and the difficult atmosphere conditions have also caused great material damages as a result of which some dwelling houses have fallen, live-stock stables have been destroyed, electric power and telephone links have been cut off, motor roads have been blocked etc.

As always, this time, too, the high patriotic ideological and political spirit of our working masses, the great and organizing strength of our party and state, the organisation of the work and the swift and effective measures adopted upon the instruction of the Central Committee of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, by all the organs of the party and state power at the center and in the districts inspired all the workers to rise to their feet as a single body and to work through actions and with mobilising spirit, in order to cope and normalize the situation created.

Always in such situations of difficulties and calamities our working masses have displayed their high consciousness, the great strength of their character.

Tens of events and episodes that have occurred these days testify to the fact that in such cases of natural calamities our people feel themselves even more closely to the party. The unity of the people round the party is displayed each day with all its magnificance, but it is being displayed in particular in such difficult moments as these caused by bad weather. Alongside the boundless love for the party, which as always is near those affected by this calamity, for the people's state power which upon the instruction of the Central Committee of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally is adopting all the measures to normalize the situation, our socialist solidarity, too, is being manifested by our people these days with even stronger force.

Marko, Stefani, Cerrava Visit Mirdite

AU131536 Tirana ATA in English 0830 GMT 13 Jan 85

[Text] Tirana, 13 January (ATA)--The heavy snow which fell in Mirdite District, too, has caused numerous difficulties and obstacles in the economic and social sectors.

The workers, cooperativists, cadres have risen to their feet and are working with a high mobilisation to overcome the difficulties.

Here came also the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Comrades Rita Marko, and Simon Stefani. They attended the meeting of the district's staff of the action and got closely acquainted with the situation created. Likewise the Comrades Rita Marko and Simon Stefani went amidst the cooperativists of Tarazh and Prosseku. They were informed by the leading cadres of the party and the state power in these economies on the situation and the damages caused, as well as on the measures adopted to normalize the situation.

In these warm meetings with the people they brought the greetings of the Central Committee of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, valued the high spirit of mobilisation, of the revolutionary action and of the socialist solidarity means of which the difficult situation is being coped with. They (?instructed) to special attention to the masses for the health of the people, the regular supply with food-stuffs and fuel, as well as to the measures for the careful treatment of the livestock. [Paragraph as received]

#### With A Mobilising Spirit

It is for some days now that heavy snow continues to fall in the district of Diber, too, causing difficulties which are being successfully overcome. Everywhere people are working with a spirit of action.

Here has come also the secretary of the Central Committee of the party Comrade Vangjel Cerrava, who took part in the meeting of the district's staff of action, in which he got closely acquainted with the situation created and with the measures taken to cope with it.

In Melan he met with the drivers of the goods park who are working to open the road, he talked with them and congratulated them on the heroic work they are making to overcome this extraordinary situation.

Comrade Vangjel Cerrava met also in Shupenze with the drivers of Chrome transport. About 2 thousand houses have been cleared from snow in Maqellara, Shupenze, Selishte and Lure.

The military units, too, are helping with their means of transport to deliver the foodstuff articles to the population of the villages.

#### Aid to Devastated Districts

AU140958 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 14 Jan 85

[Text] Tirana, 14 January (ATA)--In order to come to the aid of the inhabitants of the district of Puke and to open the Vau i Dejes-Puke motor road, a convoy of trucks got immediately started. The heroism of the drivers of heavy trucks and of the drivers of people's army, of those of Koman hydro-power station and of the enterprises of Shkoder District is displayed in every kilometer. Yesterday here came also the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Besnik Bekteshi; the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and minister of People's Defence, Prokop Murra; the minister of Communications, Luan Babameto. Comrades Besnik Bekteshi and Prokop Murra met cordially with the drivers and congratulated them upon the self-sacrificing work they are doing under the extraordinarily difficult conditions of this winter.

All the working people of Mat District have risen to their feet in order to overcome the difficulties caused as soon as possible. Amidst them came also

the leading comrades of the party and state, Hekuran Isai and Qirjako Mihali, who attended the meeting of the district's staff. They got closely acquainted with the situation created and the measures taken to cope with it. They instructed in particular to show greater care for the protection of the people, the uninterrupted supply of the inhabitants with foodstuffs and firewood, for the opening of the motor roads as well as for the protection of livestock.

The flour and bread factories, which have also stored reserves for the future, have been working normally to supply the town of Burrel and the villages with bread. Many trucks bringing rice, macaroni etc., arrived here yesterday from the city of Durrës, together with other vehicles transporting coal from Tirana so that the economic enterprises continue normally their work.

#### Intensive Work to Secure a Normal Living for the People

Asking about the concrete measures being taken to supply the population of the northern zones affected by heavy snowfall of these days with the first necessity goods, the correspondent of the ATA was told at the Ministry of Public Services and in that of Home Trade that the working people of the systems of these central departments are working intensively in order to ensure the normalization of the life of the people. Measures have been taken to provide them with the foodstuffs, electric power, water, fuel, etc.

The Deputy Minister of Communal Economy Vladimir Meksi stressed among others that measures are taken to normalize the situation.

The defects of the high and low voltage lines are being repaired. Hundreds of transformers, dischargers, insulators and other materials are sent to the district of Shkoder. Firewood is being distributed regularly. Priority has been given to the supply of some northern areas with coal. The defects in water supply system have been repaired and building materials have already been sent in some districts.

Vjollca Kallajxhi, deputy minister of domestic trade said: Apart from the quantities of goods in their store-houses, the trade enterprises in the districts of Puke, Mirdite, Diber, Mat etc., which look after the supply of the people with the main foodstuffs, are provided with foodstuffs and clothes, beds, blankets and other materials. Vehicles and helicopters are being used to supply the inhabitants of these areas regularly.

#### Snow Situation in North

AU151450 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] Tirana, 15 January (ATA)--The heavy snowfalls and the avalanches have blocked some national highways in the northern areas. The ATA correspondent talked yesterday with transport workers to learn how they are working to open them.

Regarding Milot-Bulqize-Peshkopi highway (132 km long), the managers of the automobile park of Lac reported that convoys of trucks loaded with goods have

stopped at Qafa e Buallit. One and five-tenths km are still blocked by snow, and under difficult conditions, heavy tractors are working to open the other part of the highway. As a result of strong winds, snow has reached the level of a 4 a T M [preceding three letters as received] on the other side, the road leading to Bulqize and to Peshkopia remains open.

Work is going on in the two directions to open up the Vau i Dejes-Gomsiqe-Luf road (41 km). Several heavy tractors and other vehicles are engaged in the work to open up the road from Vau i Dejes to Gomsiqe, 32 km long. The road up to Gomsiqe was opened since 12 January. Now work is going on in the direction towards Luf 9 km, but as a result of wind a part of already opened road was blocked again. Because of this, heavy vehicles were engaged in this work.

As regard the Puka-Fushe Arrez highway (20 km), the greatest part of it is opened, despite difficulties at Rrape. Working at such intensive rates it is expected that this highway be opened today completely. As regards the Rreshen-Fushe e Arrez highway (60 km), with the help of heavy tractors the road was opened up to Shepal, 19 km. Work is going on now to open the road up to Fushe Arrez. Meanwhile, great efforts are being made to open the Rreshen-Kurbnesh 27 km long highway. So far 13 km of this road have been opened.

#### Severe Conditions Continue in North

AU171440 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian at 1330 GMT devotes 30 minutes out of a total of 33 minutes of news reports to conditions in the northern districts hit by heavy snowfall. The first item on the newscast is the text of a message sent to the AWP Central Committee and Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, by the Korce District AWP Committee and People's Council Executive Committee, in which sympathy is expressed for the victims of avalanches in the northern areas and aid is promised for the regions affected, in the form of donations of foodstuffs, clothing, fuels, livestock, and money.

This is followed by reports from correspondents in various northern districts, telling about the total mobilization of workers, cooperativists, and cadres to cope with the situation, clear roads and rooftops of snow, restore road and telephone communications, and so forth. Military convoys are said to be bringing in foodstuffs and clothing, while youth brigades are said to be making great efforts in clearing up operations.

A correspondent in Kukes District reports that temperatures have dropped to as much as 25 degrees below zero.

The next batch of reports from a number of districts not so badly hit by the weather tell of solidarity initiatives by various collectives, particularly coal mine collectives promising to dispatch additional quantities of coal.

CSO: 2020/50

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

SLIGHT DAMAGE FROM EARTHQUAKE--On the afternoon of 18 December, the Albanian seismological service registered an earthquake of a magnitude of 4.3 (on the Richter scale) and an intensity of V-VI in the epicenter (Mercalli Scale-64). The epicenter of the earthquake was in the villages of Vrith, Kerthpule, and Gomsiqe (in Puke District). The quake was felt in many villages in Puke, Shkoder and Lezhe Districts and in the cities of Puke and Shkoder. According to available information there was slight material damage, and the local party and government organs have taken the necessary measures to eliminate the consequences. [Text] [Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Dec 84 p 4]

CSO: 2100/21



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INDRA CRITICIZES PREWAR DEMOCRACY

AU211622 Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 3, 16 Jan 84 p 3

[Article by Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly: "Who Wants Genuine Democracy"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Excerpts] IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 1960S, A WAVE OF THE IDEALIZATION OF THE BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC ORDER IN THE SO-CALLED FIRST REPUBLIC GRADUALLY AROSE, AND WITH IT THE GLORIFICATION OF TOMAS MASARYK. TO THIS VERY DAY OUR OPPONENTS ABROAD ARE PLAYING ON THAT STRING, WITH LITTLE GROUPS OF DOMESTIC ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM CONCURRING, AND SOME INEXPERIENCED YOUNG PEOPLE BEING TAKEN IN. BY PRAISING THE OLD, ENEMIES ARE TRYING TO DISPARAGE THE NEW, THEY WOULD LIKE TO DECOMPOSE THE MORAL-POLITICAL UNITY OF OUR SOCIETY AND THUS TRY TO RESTORE CAPITALISM.

For this reason it is useful to expose the antipopular nature of the bourgeois government between the two World Wars, to show the true character of the then political system. There exist more than enough convincing facts about it, starting from all possible means of persecuting progressive forces and communists, and the brutal censorship of their press, all the way to forcing the CPCZ into semi-illegality; starting from the exploitation of the working people all the way to firing upon demonstrating workers and poor farmers; starting from hurrah patriotism all the way to the treacherous capitulation before the Munich diktat.

The entire political system of that time served the preservation and strengthening of bourgeois hegemony. The bourgeoisie enshrined its interests in the constitution and in laws, masterly it held in its hand the entire network of education and mass political influence, unfastidiously it asserted its influence in culture, and its hegemony was safeguarded by the entire administrative and power apparatus.

Praising bourgeois parliamentarism is extraordinarily popular in hostile argumentation. Its advantages as an instrument of true democracy are being substantiated, for example, by the fact that in the then Chamber of Deputies and in the Senate there existed a free exchange of views, that in parliament the government could be subjected to the sharpest possible criticism, that the communist deputies could with impunity "incite against the republic," that

Klement Gottwald could--in his first parliamentary appearance--deliver his well known "incendiary" speech.

IN REALITY, THE PARLIAMENT WAS ONLY A FACADE OF DEMOCRACY, IT SERVED BOURGEOIS DICTATORSHIP. IN THE END, THE RULING BOURGEOISIE DEMONSTRATED ITS ARROGANT ATTITUDE TOWARD PARLIAMENT IN THE FATEFUL MOMENTS OF 1938: IT BRUTALLY TRAMPLED THE CONSTITUTION OF ITS OWN STATE WHEN IT ACCEDED TO THE RUTHLESS TRUNCATION OF THE REPUBLIC AND TO CHANGING ITS BORDERS WITHOUT WAITING FOR PARLIAMENT TO EXPRESS ITSELF ON THE MATTER. IN A MOMENT OF SUCH UNPRECEDENTED BETRAYAL, WHICH EXPRESSED ITS CLASS INTERESTS, THE BOURGEOISIE HAD NO USE FOR A PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE.

That, of course, does not mean at all that communist deputies and senators underestimated the parliamentary arena. For them it was a tribune from which to express revolutionary views about the struggle for the rights of the working people, and--as documents attest--one of which they made good use.

FOR ITS CONSISTENT STRUGGLE AGAINST BOURGEOIS DICTATORSHIP, THE CPCZ EARNED THE HATRED OF THE THEN TRUE RULERS AND THEIR POLITICAL HENCHMEN. They asserted that it was a party of "republic-smashers and traitors to their country," that it was "in Moscow's pay...." I think that it is not necessary to prove that the party did not fight against the republic, but against the conditions that existed in it, against the class dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, for a republic of workers, farmers, and other working people.

THE CONSISTENT STRUGGLE FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE AND THEN AGAINST THE DANGER OF FASCISM PAID OFF POLITICALLY IN THE UNPRECEDENTED GROWTH OF THE CPCZ'S AUTHORITY. And nor did the communists disappoint that trust in them in the national liberation struggle. Thanks to popular support, they became the leading political force of resistance and in this ensured the hegemony of the workers class.

The exponents of the big bourgeoisie, who after the betrayal of the republic went over to direct collaboration with fascists, lost all political credibility, their participation in the postwar government was out of question. But also that part of the national bourgeoisie which was against fascism did not play an open game--in the liberated republic, it wanted to restore the prewar conditions, just as they used to be. THE CPCZ, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE, WAS DEFENDING THE PRINCIPLE OF THE RESTORATION OF THE REPUBLIC--BUT ON JUST SOCIAL AND NATIONALITIES' PRINCIPLES.

IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM, THE 1945-48 PERIOD IS OF EXCEPTIONAL IMPORTANCE. In it, one can distinguish the escalation of the national democratic revolution, deepening its social features, and transcending into a socialist revolution. The basic concept of the postwar development, incorporated in the Kosice Government Program, was accepted by the representatives of the bourgeoisie with gritted teeth. In the interest of preserving their positions in the government, they could do nothing but respect the situation that arose, and they bowed to the revolutionary views of the people. From the very first moment, however, they reckoned on a gradual decline of revolutionary sentiments, particularly in connection with the postwar economic difficulties.

It was typical of reaction that it chose parliament to be the arena of the struggle against social progress. It was relying on political wheeling and dealing, behind-the-scene intrigues, on the support of the President of the Republic--but, in case it might prove necessary, also on direct interference from the side of the Western powers. AT THAT TIME, THE CPCZ, WITH A MASTERLY STROKE, COMBINED THE STRUGGLE IN THE GOVERNMENT, IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL FRONT, AND IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY [PARLIAMENT] WITH MOBILIZING THE WORKERS CLASS AND THE BROAD PUBLIC.

It is known how that historical struggle ended. The people convinced themselves--and reaction also realized it, albeit too late--that Gottwald is not Tusar!

There have been quite a few speculations concerning the Czechoslovak February; its course and outcome prompted a number of solid works by Marxist theoreticians in our country, in the allied countries, and even in the capitalist states. Also on the "other side" they have frequently occupied themselves with our February--in pseudoscientific works, vulgarizing pamphlets, and in ideodiversionary propaganda. Most frequently, our opponents proceed from a fairly simple stereotype: A communist putsch was involved, a political system was forced upon our country that does not respect our national traditions and individual characteristics, and Czechoslovakia took over the Soviet "model" with all that goes with it.

The truth, of course, is on our side. With all modesty, without wanting to force our experience on anybody, we can declare: THE TRANSCENDENCE OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA INTO A SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IS A PERFECT TEXTBOOK EXAMPLE OF MAKING USE OF OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE CIRCUMSTANCES FOR A PEACEFUL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

NO ONE CAN CHANGE ANYTHING IN THE FACT THAT OUR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION WAS AN AFFAIR OF THE CZECHOSLOVAK PEOPLE, THAT IT WAS EXCLUSIVELY OUR INTERNAL AFFAIR. The establishment of the political power of the workers class marked the beginning of a new stage in the history of the Czechoslovak people; our country embarked on the path toward socialism. TO SUM UP: THE BOURGEOIS CONSTITUTION'S PROCLAMATION THAT "THE PEOPLE ARE THE SOURCE OF ALL POWER" WAS OVERCOME; NOW ALL POWER BELONGED TO THE WORKING PEOPLE, WHO WERE EXERTING IT DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY.

Twenty years later, however, our ideological adversaries and political adventurers appeared again. This was preceded, as the consequence of the known errors of the leadership at that time, by a gradual growth of the hotbeds of rightist revisionism, teamed up--logically--with the antisocialist forces at home and abroad. Under the aegis of the right to criticize genuine and fabricated errors and shortcomings, they attacked, in particular, the leading role of the Communist Party, they tried to attribute to it only some sort of dubious "ideological mission." Talking about socialism "with a human face," leaning on the official thesis about the existence of an all-people's state, they were asserting political pluralism without, of course, openly admitting that by this they are again reopening the issue of the struggle for political power.

Their arguments were very varied, beginning with the criticism of the aforementioned allegedly injected "Soviet model," and the overestimation of the national and the underestimation of the international interests, all the way to the greatly exaggerated idealization of prewar conditions. No matter how hard they tried to give themselves the aura of originality, there was really nothing new in this--the international workers movement encountered all that at various times and in various forms; these were the fairly trite weapons known from Bernstein's and Katusky's times, and repeatedly dusted off by various "reformers" and critics of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. All these pseudo-theories and "political experiments" have the same weak spot in common. On their basis, the political power of the workers class and the people has never been successfully established anywhere before. Precisely this is one of the most cogent reasons why all the various revisionist tendencies enjoy such support from bourgeois propaganda and power centers. As if those who are in power in the capitalist states were interested in "perfecting" socialism, in order that it might achieve "new successes"!

The history of class struggles--at home and abroad--clearly shows who wants real rights for the people, and what is served by "playing democracy" under the baton of capitalism.

CSO: 2400/224

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CATHOLIC CLERGY, CZECH PREMIER HOLD FRIENDLY TALK

AU181510 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Jan 85 p 2

[Text] Prague (CTK)--On Tuesday [15 January] in Prague Josef Korcak, premier of the Czech SR, received Bishop Josef Vrana, doctor of theology and apostolic administrator of the Olomouc Archiepiscopate, which was accompanied by Canon Zdenek Adler, doctor of theology and central secretary of the CSSR Pacem in Terris organization, and by Bernard Prerovsky, provost of the Olomouc Chapter.

The Catholic Church representatives present on the occasion positively evaluated the peace, construction, and social work of our socialist society. They thanked the premier of the Czech SR for the full understanding accorded to the Pacem in Terris association of Catholic clergy and also to all patriotic peace efforts inside the Catholic Church. They expressed full agreement with the humane thoughts contained in the reply sent by Konstantin Chernenko, CPSU Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the USSR's Supreme Soviet Presidium, to the representatives of Christian churches a few days ago.

In the friendly talk the premier expressed the conviction that both the Catholic clergy and the Catholic believers, together with all people of good will, will support these thoughts, and that they will search for acceptable avenues toward achieving a truly lasting peace.

CSO: 2400/224

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

NEW CULTURAL BIWEEKLY--The first issue of the new biweekly published by the Czech Ministry of Culture, entitled CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT [KULTURNI ROZVOJ], was on sale at newspaper stands on 16 January. In the introductory article in the first issue, Czech Minister of Culture Milan Klusak writes that the publication will "fulfill its task in the sphere of cultural policy, cultural-educational activity, and the theory of culture." The periodical is meant for "cultural-educational workers of the state and social bodies, institutions, and cultural-educational facilities," and for workers in education, voluntary workers in culture, and so forth. Among other things, the periodical is to "fulfil the noble objectives of the CPCZ's cultural policy." [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 16 Jan 85 p 5 AU]

CSO: 2400/224

HUNGARY

YOUTH POLICIES, EDUCATIONAL ADVANCEMENT

Communist Youth League Program

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian 23 Nov 84 pp 8 & 9

[Interview with Peter Emod, Secretary of the KISZ CC: "The Emphasis is on Winning Them Over"]

[Excerpts] The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] discussed in October the report prepared about youth's position in society and at the same time adopted a stand in youth policy questions. Among other things the stand emphasizes: "The main task of KISZ [Hungarian Communist Youth League] is to publicize the party's policies and to accept a role in shaping and implementing it. To win youth over to our social goals, to the activity conducted for reaching them. To represent and protect the special interests of youth. To perform more deliberate political work in the interest that as large masses as possible of the young people would acquire the socialist principles." In the near future we will be questioning secretaries of the KISZ Central Committee about the youth league's work, things to do after the stand was taken, the tasks. On this occasion Peter Emod, the secretary of KISZ tells our paper about the timely questions and problems of ideological work.

[Question] Very many tasks appear simultaneously in the work of shaping the consciousness. Thus it can happen that the most important ones blend together with the less essential ones. On which questions is the youth league concentrating now in the spirit of the position which has been taken?

[Answer] ... Youth needs ideals, but these can become driving forces for action only if they are built on a realistic and real picture of socialism, national self-awareness and self-appreciation.

[Question] Let us stop for a moment at the picture of socialism. We speak very much today about why the picture of socialism which lives in youth today is not right, but less is being said about what it should be like.

[Answer] ... We must also realize that the picture created about socialism in Hungary is shaped by comparison with the surrounding world--also including the countries which are economically better developed than we are. We must take a stand against unhistorical comparisons, but an even much more aware effective tool than this is if the young people can convince themselves on the basis of their own experiences that our social system--even in its present form--is fairer and more human than any others preceding it. The development of a more credible picture of socialism is unimaginable without more thorough knowledge of our national history as a whole, especially the four decades of our socialist growth.

[Question] I think the approaching 40th anniversary of our country's liberation offers a good opportunity to increase this knowledge.

[Answer] Yes. The historical lessons of the four decades are receiving much attention now in mass propaganda, leadership training as well as in the press.

[Question] So this is the first big task of awareness shaping. And what is the other one?

[Answer] The new types of tasks belong to this one. Numerous questions become defined in the course of building socialism--in the young people as well, but naturally not only in them--and we have no ready answer for them. ... We must join the main stream of intellectual life, defining and answering the theoretical questions. I think the rich experience of the work we have done among the youth, and the growing results of youth research provide the proper foundation for us to be able to do this responsibly. More and more forums provide opportunities now for joining. For example, the lively, sparkling debate of the youth section of the Tenth National Peace Conference still lives in me as a fresh experience, where there was also "heavy" discussion of theoretical, ideological questions.

[Question] The Central Committee's position indicates that the ideological fight, the debate about performance, viability and humanism of the various social systems is becoming sharper. What characterizes the propaganda directed against us today, and what tasks does this represent for the youth foundation?

[Answer] ... I would like to emphasize two questions which require special attention. On the one hand we are experiencing strong efforts to turn the socialist countries against each other, to stir up nationalism. In addition to the one rooted in the past, we are also meeting a new type of nationalism. We do not consider nationalism a medicine for any kind of ailment. Even if in many cases we cannot influence the reasons for its existence, we still profess that the only way for us is the socialist ideology, true patriotism and international solidarity.

On the other hand the question of war and peace is also receiving greater emphasis than before in the ideological battle. The imperialist propaganda



that we could give more authentic, more convincing answers to the questions of young people. It is important for our mass propaganda to be in tune with the young people. Youth should be approached with interest rather than with rejection. Even their hardest questions should be handled objectively, with confidence and patience.

In our work we must build more deliberately on the results brought to the surface by youth research and by public opinion surveys done among youth. In the interest of this we are planning to expand the basis of this activity within our organization.

[Question] It is an old question but it still pops up today from time to time: would it be right for the KISZ--reaching back a little bit to the heroic era--to undertake the task of familiarizing people methodically with the basic theses of Marxism-Leninism.

[Answer] I think it would be an improper and unjustified undertaking to embark on the seminar-like transfer of basic information in a time period of our historical growth when for many decades other forums of the schools and public learning, the highly efficient tools of mass information --in spite of all their problems--have been talented and committed transfer agents of our ideology. Isn't it worth more if the young person meets our truths in KISZ not in the form of theses to be learned but with a unique approach of understanding, explanation and "expanded regeneration" of the world surrounding him? ...

Even if we do not consider it our task to teach the basic theses of Marxism-Leninism we encourage wiping out in this area. This goal is served by new and demanding propaganda work such as that organized by the Marxist student academies for the groups of secondary school youth most interested in social and political questions.

[Question] Our regular readers are also probably interested in knowing whether any changes can be expected in the youth press after the youth policy position was adopted?

[Answer] The position clearly states that the work of youth magazines must be improved. That is, our magazines are playing an increasing role in relaying the goals of the youth federation, in shaping youth's awareness, in influencing public opinion on youth and the KISZ, yet we continue to have significant reserves. Just a few examples: KIAZ's internal news often merely report an outstanding events in the organization; little attention is given to how the youth federation could within a united framework accommodate the many kinds of interests of the youth groups; how the movement's democracy shapes youth's relationship with socialism; how and why the KISZ nurtures its relationships with youth and the youth associations active outside the organization. Writings dealing with KISZ's interest representation and interest protection activities, describing how it fights for the interests of the youth or what the youth federation is doing to ease their problems, are published too seldom.

is building on the natural desire of youth for peace, and at the same time it is trying to take advantage of the fact that we still have little historical experience. The lore of our youth rejects the efforts trying to recruit disciples for pacifism or for views which cast doubt on the sense of the efforts the small countries are making, rejecting our commitments to our allies. It also plays a role in the rejection that in recent years we have succeeded in renewing our educational work related to the question of war and peace, and in expanding the field of the peace movement's activity. We are helping the peace communities which have come into existence as a reflection of youth's desire for peace and as a manifestation of their spontaneous activity, we are orienting them in their work in such a way that in the meanwhile we are not trying to institutionalize them, and stuff them into the existing structures.

In the future--while reinforcing the positive initiatives which have developed--we must help people understand that the peace policy of the socialist countries and their measures to maintain the balance of power, peace education and national defense education represent two areas of solving one and the same task which only artificially can be turned to contrast with each other. ...

[Question] The fact that the awareness raising is more demanding obviously makes it necessary to modernize the system of means available for this work. What are the plans in this respect?

[Answer] First of all I would like to emphasize that the general guidelines for modernizing political work--such as developing spontaneous activities and initiative and stronger differentiation of the work by strata and age groups--are valid in also this area. Leadership training must prepare our activists and propagandists so that our organization can conduct more conscious, more committed political work. We must make sure that the KISZ leaders and propagandists gain comprehensive knowledge about the timely ideological questions; that they learn to argue better, to reason and stand up for the party's policies. We must create more opportunities for them to debate and to confront ideas, to help convince youth. We must use canvassing and propaganda which have often narrowed down to mere dispensing of information--and solving even that on one single level--in accordance with their original designation, with the real content of these words. We must make the themes and formats of leadership training more flexible. For example, we must realize that we cannot train our leaders according to programs which are rigidly specified for a year or even for years ahead.

The necessity of protecting the working time--rightfully--is receiving more and more serious priority. Doing work past the working hours is increasingly frequent also among youth. In many places correspondence or branch courses indicate one of the possible directions of change.

We must further differentiate our mass propaganda. We must improve the selection, preparation and information of propagandists active in this so

To fix the shortcomings it is not necessary to significantly modify the structure of youth press which has developed during decades. But it is necessary to introduce a longer-range planning of the strategic character of the press work, to more deliberately participate in molding the youth and the KISZ, to have a more marked profile delineation between the various magazines, to better satisfy the needs of the individual groups.

We feel it is important that the document separately specifies improving the technical conditions for publishing the MAGYAR IFJUSAG [Hungarian Youth]. This provides hope that in the not too distant future our central weekly will reach its readers in quality worthy of its calling.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the conversation.

#### Higher Educational Examinations

Budapest MAGYAR IFJUSAG in Hungarian 23-Nov 84 pp 14, 15

[Article by Tamas Hampel: "Is the Measure Reliable?"]

[Text] "... what the school must accomplish first of all is that it must teach us how to study, awaken our appetite for knowledge, teach us the pleasure of work well done, and the excitement of teaching... that we like what we are doing, ... help us discover what we like to do."

Albert Szent-Gyorgyi

The testing going on in institutions of higher education--especially the state examinations--are calling more and more attention to themselves. The reason for this is to be sought in the demand for a consistently thought-out educational reform and in the examination conflicts which can be felt more and more. Even though one is the inseparable consequence of the other, still in certain cases the examination problems crop up independently.

By now it has become ultimately clear that an educational structure must be developed which better conforms to the demands, which allows more room for the student's creative ability and which makes it possible to better recognize the actual abilities. Reforms so far have had little influence on the actual examinations, they have left in place the sweeping significance of this method of qualification.

Generally it can be said about the practice, goal and psychology of an examination that in all institutions the first two years are a period of selection when the examiners obviously intentionally try to "wash out" those they consider least suitable. The maximized number of unsuccessful examinations in the first 4 semesters helps this efficient screening, beyond which serious consequences must be considered.

After the second year, even though the expressly selective function of the exams changes somewhat, the relationship between the student and the examiner, the material that he is tested on, in many respects remain

unchanged, even though developing in a way deserving a change. To crudely simplify the problem: with campaign-like studying the student tries to acquire in as short a time as possible, knowledge which seems as thorough as possible (but in many cases just that much more superficial), and to honor the examiner's lectures with perhaps physical but not necessarily intellectual participation. Keeping quiet about his own independent opinion and flashing the examiner's views impressively are additional conditions for getting good results. The material to be reproduced often does not even stand so much on facts as on the pro and con contrasting of unclarified scientific views where the student must sense what the examiner's position is or what agrees with it, and what it is that he must also for appearance's sake mention as "naively ringing curiosity" and must bring it up. All this is perhaps less valid in the world of the exact subjects (least of all in the technical universities, but a little more so in medical school), but they are that much more valid, for example, concerning the law schools.

In many respects our examination system resembles the quality sports, or rather the contests themselves. An athlete is evaluated primarily in contests themselves. An athlete is evaluated primarily in contests which compared to his preparation is as short as a rabbit's tail. The examination also is merely a small mirror of knowledge compared to the material as a whole. Even though there are also significant differences between, for example, an olympiad and a state examination, the unjustifiable but nevertheless existing similarities caution for thought. That is, we cannot forget that when the examinations deteriorate into a merciless contest they utterly destroy the health, self respect and family harmony of dozens of young people. The strictness exhibited in the state examinations which forever puts an end to the almost completed studies, reminds one not of the health conserving beauty of mass sports but of the unending, fitful fears of failure to reach forever the "big moments" in competitive sports.

We must also speak about the strange and hardly desirable phenomenon that the overwhelming majority of the grades which determine the quality of the diploma earned in institutions of higher learning measure theoretical knowledge. Somehow as Laszlo Nemeth worded it: the educational institution "has a miniature casting of every branch of science made, has a speciality professor sit next to it for whom this miniaturized science is the whole big world". The success of preparing for the examinations is also inherently influenced by practice which supplements the theoretical training. But there are hardly any opportunities on the examinations to prove the practical abilities. Students of the social studies departments are constantly complaining about the lack of practical exercises and of teaching realistic views to which they could attach their theoretical knowledge. The students are often asked to give proof of knowledge suspended in thin air, which in accordance with the biological laws of remembering is neither sufficiently stable nor sufficiently reliable, and therefore cannot be preserved over a long period of time. And an unsuccessful examination can be the direct consequence of all these.

The problems are only aggravated by the chronic shortage of textbooks and notes, the heterogeneity and even confusion of content found in the publications. But the success of the examinations in addition to human factors also depends on suitable teaching equipment, notes and textbooks. Pretty soon there are as many different required and approved notes as there are departments.

Let us now look at the second (if not the first) most important factor from the viewpoint of the examination's outcome, the person of the examiner. Not entirely independently of his momentary frame of mind, based on an accounting amounting to brief minutes he is supposed to measure the work of months or even years. If someone has ever participated in the perspiration-causing pleasures of examination he will not doubt the subjective evaluation of it either. The relationship between examiner and examinee is a function of numerous human factors. Picking out the most important ones from these, we can mention sympathy, state of mind and emotional condition, vanity--since every examiner has his own favorite subject--mutual and sincere interest, and last but not least empathy, living the other's feelings. All the things place their stamp on the examination results, about which naively and misleadingly some people still state that it can be a value judgment of absolute validity.

In some departments the ratio of students advised to leave permanently during the course of the state examinations reached stunning numbers, while at the same time it is also part of the truth that in other places such things are not seen at all. This is quite a problem in the law school where because of the nature of the subjects and the complex state examinations introduced a few years ago such an unblessed situation has developed that it needs to be rectified as soon as possible.

Introduction of the complex state examinations only appears to be the true source of the problems. There is no question that--again talking only about the law students--that simultaneous examination of the financial and procedural law from civil and criminal law places truly unbearable burden on the students. (These subjects are also filled with technical terms and definitions and consist basically of elements of memorization. Even before now every one of them required the most thorough preparation and the results depended strongly on the educator's humanity. Several examinations are held in these subjects also during the time of the study, thus it can be reasonably objected to that total unfamiliarity or even unsuitability is uncovered right at the final tests of strength. Well, of course this is rather embarrassing not only to the students, but only to them does it also include unpleasant consequences.)

Yet introduction of the complex examinations seemed to be justified by the fact that utilization of the knowledge required for them usually also occurs together in practice. Thus the idea is not necessarily bad, but as was found, its implementation is not successful.

It is interesting that the complex state examination does not cause serious problems in the institutions which train teachers, in contrast with the law

schools. Here it is the unanimous experience of the state examiners that a noteworthy portion of the examinees is unable to learn simultaneously at an acceptable level the two subjects on which they are examined, or to give an accounting of them. This, of course, is only one aspect of the problem since the students will later have ample opportunity to more thoroughly acquire these subjects. With some understanding and willingness several possibilities are offering themselves to overcome the increased difficulties presented by the complex examinations. There is the possibility of crossing out with a thicker pencil the nonessential parts of the material from the examination requirements. Another solution is that the examiner in deciding on the grade be more lenient with the lower level reproduction of details and excessively theoretical questions. In the case of the complex examinations answering several questions or a group of questions as an independent item is graded separately. In developing the final grade it would be proper if the examiner started out from the over-all acceptability of the answers given rather than from averaging the grades awarded; and if he used less his right (and even perceived obligation) that for not knowing any of the detail questions he classifies the entire examination a failure.

Rivalry between the departments is spreading more and more, during the course of which the students are examined with varying strictness on uncrystallized scientific views and hardly selective opinions from the viewpoint of importance. It is not proper to transfer the contrasting of scientific positions into the sphere of examination the student suffers for this also. Perhaps this would be acceptable if not institutions under uniform state guidance were involved. But in this way they must (should) provide an obviously equalized level of knowledge, making equal requirements. The requirements of society as a whole as well as the requirements of the employers who will receive the graduating students, and last but not least that of the professionals being trained also calls for this. It is unfortunate that there are practically no two diplomas of equal value in this wide land, since the portfolio in question, who knows why, itself restricts its own right to intervene in this area.

At times the state examinations frustrate the completion of 5-6-7 years of otherwise successful work for once and for all with their specifications. In a unique way some of the students who have gotten as far as the state examination are declared completely unsuitable, that is, the selection takes place not at the admission test and not even in the first or second year but after 9-10 or perhaps 12 successful semesters.

If at the time of the final tests of strength the constantly increasing number of students being washed out could not be statistically proven, someone could even call all this false anxiety. Unfortunately the numbers show something else. In the law school alone the number of those affected is around 2 percent per year, and more than a few people have been taking the state examinations for 2-3 years with more or less success.

Is this not too great a waste? Especially if we also take it into consideration that respect for these "just barely, not higher qualified" people drops significantly in society and at the place of work, their employment

and earning potentials deteriorate, while their nerves give out and their family tranquility is impaired. During the student years stretched out for so long the people who, as supported members, deplete the (financial) resources of their relatives and who are slowly getting into the age group of family supporters can hardly count on true sympathy. It is no longer even necessary for them to explain the report card laden with serious consequences. Others are trying to escape the observing eyes of their employers in this critical time period.

The present consequence of unsuccessful examinations does not encourage making up the deficiencies in knowledge but rather with administrative measures it determines the entire future of students who are often worthy of a better fate. It should be known that the slightest social inequalities can be regenerated with a single stroke of a pen.

The educators are examining. But one must be born an educator! Even though it could be possible for those with less inborn ability to develop pedagogical and psychological abilities even by spontaneous activity, but who cares about all this nowadays?! But who would argue that the educators and students could get closer to each other nevertheless, and closer to society's expectations. It should also be mentioned here that the list of atrocities committed at the examinations has grown frightfully long. Some real examples of this are that the student is called to report by a telegram sent out the evening before the appointed day of examination, or that the record is not written to correspond to what actually happened, and especially not as it actually takes place, etc. No legal recourse exists for the student against these.

Let there be no misunderstanding: we must raise our voice not in protection of the "golden youngsters" who really do not belong in the universities and colleges, but for those young people who cannot conform to the present training but who lead a just that much more creative life. Perhaps it is no accident that the interested parties are conducting very bitter debates over very radical reform drafts, while a camp of a significant number of the affected students has every reason to despair.

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POLAND

WOZNIAK COMMENTS ON PARTY ACTIVITIES IN WARSAW

AU161756 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Jan 85 pp 1, 3

[Interview given by Marian Wozniak, PZPR Politburo member and first secretary of the Warsaw Voivodship PZPR Committee, to Jan Rozdzynski: "We Must Meet the Requirements of the Day"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Rozdzynski: Let us start with today's matters. One year ago, at the 19th Warsaw PZPR Report-back and Election Conference, at which you were reelected, you said that the name "Warsaw" commits one to multiply one's activity, make it more effective, and make every month and every year bring progress and an improvement in the inhabitants' standard of living....

Wozniak: That is correct. This is what I said and am still saying, because the Warsaw Party organization's basic goal is to improve the standard of living and working conditions of our conurbation.

Right now, the city and voivodship of Warsaw produce 8.3 percent of the country's industrial output and their productivity is greater than the national average. Thanks to this productivity we have been able to close the "crisis cycle." In addition, this is rather a symbolic moment, and not just for party members, because it is only the beginning of a return to the standard of living that existed prior to the crisis, and this return is a priority matter for us.

Rozdzynski: In the opinion of society, the standard of living means an availability of market goods, and to Varsovians it means above all, an availability of housing...

Wozniak: Let me say this: Various speeches and articles have described this topic as a "burning problem," "political argument," and so on--whereas the reality is known to every citizen of Warsaw and Warsaw Voivodship who is waiting for an apartment. Today, the reality is not as pessimistic as it was 1 year ago and more. Unlike previous plans, our builders have finally fulfilled the 1984 construction plan; this was of course a "minimum plan" and a long way away from satisfying needs. The number of people waiting for an apartment is estimated at about 250,000, but those who are most in need number almost 80,000. They should receive the keys to their apartments in 4-5 years time.



It emerges from all the calculations made, from consultations with party organizations and building teams, from the decisions made at last September's government presidium session, and from the decisions jointly reached with the construction ministry, that at least 65,000 family apartments will be built by socialisted construction, and sites will be guaranteed for the construction of at least 15,000 low-rise buildings and single-family homes built privately and financed by bank credits. Is this little? Of course, not every applicant will receive his apartment before 1990--let us be honest about this--because it is quite simply impossible. However, I do believe that the efficiency of building enterprises will have improved by then. I am basing this statement on concrete prerequisites.

The most important matters for solving the housing problem, in other words, improving city transportation and commuter travel, and developing the entire infrastructure of daily life (involving shops, nurseries, schools, hospitals, clinics, and recreation centers), are also matters of the greatest importance for the Warsaw party organization. Coupled with these is a concern for the development of material production as the chief way of reestablishing the standard of living.

Rozdzynski: How can one describe the chief goals of activity which you have set yourselves for the coming years?

Wozniak: This year's accountability campaign inside party organizations and the SEJM elections are, of course, in the forefront throughout the entire party. But let me dwell on a few selected matters concerning the solving of the city's and voivodship's problems. Every such problem, both those concerning the "superstructure" and those of a "technical" nature, involve the basic issue of cooperation with our allies from the ZSL and SD and a broad acceptance by society of our activity. For example, the primary issue, keenly felt by all of us during the present severe winter, is the need to guarantee the city's good functioning. In this context, it is very important to improve the transportation system. This does not only involve the building of the subway, but also the modernization of railroad junctions, the building of new bridges, and the introduction of new solutions to the city's transportation. Here I wish to stress that apart from using our own solutions, we are also availing ourselves of foreign projects, especially the experiences of the fraternal socialist capitals. This program is not small and not cheap. Accelerating the development of the food economy and the services sphere is a separate matter. Next, we also intend to intensify Warsaw's industrial production, but not the way we used to do so until quite recently--not by increasing the number of plants, but by introducing the results of technological progress, improving productivity and quality, and rationalizing employment.

We attach great importance to educating the young generation of Varsovians. We believe that schools and colleges must regain a feeling for the duty resting upon them--the secular and socialist education of young people. After all, everything depends on the results of this long-term human education process, and I do not need to expand on this idea.

I also regard the reestablishment of work ethics as one of the very important party tasks. Good, efficient work is needed just the same today as it was in the forties and fifties. In order to remain in step on the road to satisfying needs and the road to modernity, we need high-quality products that are competitive on world markets. Electronics, 50 percent of whose production base is in Poland, plus automation and robotization possess chances of rapid development in the capital. That is why Warsaw is where the new slogan of the time should come from--"Warsaw Quality." This slogan should become part of the daily practice of workers, engineers, scientists, designers, economists, and craftsmen--in a word, a slogan for all the residents of Warsaw and its voivodship.

CSO: 2600/475

POLAND

# AMERICAN STAND ON YALTA AGREEMENT CRITICIZED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Nov 84 p 6

[Article by Ignacy Krasicki: "Unanimity of European Agreements"]

[Text] Voice of America has reported that during a meeting of a group of Polish-American activists with State Department officials that was held in October an authoritative answer to a question raised by one of those present was given, according to which there is an alleged "fundamental incongruence" between the Yalta Agreement and the Potsdam Treaty.

One can easily guess why, in defiance of historical truth and common sense, U.S. Government circles want to present, in this case through Voice of America, such a falsehood to the international, and especially Polish, public.

As Voice of America remarked in its commentary, the obvious intention is to implant in the mind of the average Pole the belief that, by identifying the Yalta Agreement with the present political system in Poland and our country's alliances, the United States radically opposes it, while nonetheless accepting the Potsdam Treaty, and thus the Polish state borders on the Oder, the Neisse, and the Baltic.

## A Further Step

By making such a claim both Voice of America and the U.S. Government circles that stand behind it make a further step in the escalation of propaganda and lies, since it is well known not only to historians dealing with World War II, both from the West and from the East, but also to responsible political circles that there is an absolute unanimity of all comprehensive treaties that sanctioned the post-war status quo in Europe. The Potsdam and Yalta agreements, taken together, incorporated the result of the defeat of the former Third Reich and unanimously defined the basic guidelines for the political and territorial status quo in post-war Europe. Thus, whoever wants to separate the Yalta Agreement from the Potsdam Treaty is not only at odds with history but, what is most important, tries to undermine the European status quo, to erase the result of the Allies' victory over Germany.

The false dilemma put forward by Voice of America in relation to the aforementioned meeting in the State Department has negative political consequences especially for Poland. It was the intention of its authors to make naive Poles believe that abolishing socialism in their country and its possible "finlandization", i.e., evolutionary changes in alliances and political movement toward the West, would not affect the present Polish state borders. Reality, however, is completely different from this propaganda hoax. Therefore, it is astonishing that someone has ventured to use it in such a cynical and blunt way.

In fact, not only an analysis of historical sources dating from the end of World War II but also recent political developments in Europe fully support the opposite thesis, i.e., the aforementioned unanimity of European treaties.

#### The Nature of Diversified Policy

And so the U.S. policy of the last few years toward the Soviet Union and other socialist countries undermines the Yalta Agreement to allow freer interference in internal political problems of this region. At the same time, it more and more ostentatiously supports West German revanchists.

Now, not only activists of West German "associations of compatriots" (Landsmannschaft) but also official representatives of the governing coalition in Bonn cite the present American administration as a factor that publicly supports their revisionist claims as a matter of principle. When President Ronald Reagan recently declared that there is a need to revise the Yalta Agreement, the progovernment press in West Germany, greeting this statement with applause, added that "the United States agrees in principle with the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany that the 1937 state borders of the Reich are valid" (DIE WELT).

The American propaganda aimed at shaping the national consciousness of the Polish people so that they might believe that there is indeed a possibility of opposing the Potsdam Treaty to the Yalta Agreement leads straightforwardly toward making the Polish foreground more and more accessible and controllable for the United States and its global policy toward the Soviet Union. This is the gist of the statement made by U.S. Vice President George Bush last year when, after his visit to certain Central European capitals, he encouraged the diversification of U.S. policy toward Poland and other socialist countries, which, in a nutshell, would "reward" those that depart from the principles of their alliances with the Soviet Union and real socialism and "punish" those that would not yield to the American dictate.

#### Cold War Rules

As early as 1977 the American journal U.S. MILITARY REVIEW wrote: "The cold war is not dead. It is more dangerous now than ever before. The weaker the possibility of using nuclear weapons the stronger the sword of psychological war and subversion must be."

We must ponder over these words and understand what they mean in their direct and indirect consequences. It is obvious that the rules of cold war formulated in this way imply the necessity of exerting more and more massive and brutal pressure on the enemy, which amounts to propaganda that does not reckon with the historical truth and ignores everything but the American interests.

In another broadcast, Voice of America has featured Jan Nowak-Jezioranski, the former head of the Polish Section of Radio Free Europe and now the director of Polish-American Congress office, who talked quite suggestively about the details of such propaganda. In his opinion, the confrontational U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union must win the Polish card in various ways. Since martial law in Poland made an open counterrevolutionary process impossible, it is necessary "to change the sociopolitical and economic reality of Poland" gradually so that in the future Poland will belong to the East only "formally", "placing itself more and more in the West", to use his own words. "Is this possible at all?" he asks. His answer is yes, but under the condition that Poles (especially the young generation of Poles) will eventually believe that good relations with Soviet Russia are not indispensable for Poland.

In view of such tendencies and intentions, it is easy to figure out where the intensity of the anti-Yalta propaganda campaign comes from. It is meant to "authenticate" in the psyche of Polish society the turn signaled above, which is compatible with American interests and inspired by Washington. Such "authentication" can only be effected by disseminating within Polish society this historically and politically breakneck thesis about the alleged "conflict" between the Yalta Agreement and the Potsdam Treaty.

It is, let us add, an effort that does not promise success, since the belief that the Yalta Agreement and the Potsdam Treaty are inseparable is deeply rooted in the consciousness of the whole of Polish public thinking that is politically and realistically minded and cares about our reasons of state and nation.

However, it is worthwhile noticing this effort, since it clearly shows the real, anti-Polish intentions of those who have undertaken it.

12607  
CSO: 2600/217

POLAND

GROMYKO TV TALK, U.S.-USSR DIALOGUE ANALYZED

AU171050 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Jan 85 p 7

[Commentary by Janusz Moszczenski: "Without an Arms Race"]

[Text] The Geneva meeting between the USSR and U.S. heads of diplomacy drew the whole world's attention. Generally speaking, this meeting's positive results have created a concrete chance for an improvement in the international climate, whose serious deterioration has been caused by the American arms policy designed to achieve military superiority.

In a television program in Moscow on Sunday, USSR Foreign Minister A. Gromyko presented an expose of the Soviet stance adopted in Geneva. His authoritative pronouncements were marked by clarity, precision, principle-mindedness, and consistency stemming from the uninterrupted peaceful line of USSR foreign policy. The USSR occupies a position which fully expresses the interests of its allies, including Poland and the other socialist countries. The joint principled policy of the Warsaw Pact states is a fact which gives us strength, A. Gromyko stressed.

A basic condition for lasting peace is to free the earth and space from the arms race, A. Gromyko stressed. A ban on space weapons is of key importance for progress in the comprehensive negotiations on this subject based on the principle of "joint dependence" adopted in Geneva, Washington strongly opposed the inclusion of space in future disarmament talks. However, the Soviet point of view triumphed. It was decided that the future talks will also deal with preventing an arms race in space. A. Gromyko praised the fact that the American side finally agreed to this.

But we know that there are very serious and influential forces in Washington which do not intend to abandon the militarization of space. Their key spokesman is Defense Secretary C. Weinberger. He does not recognize the principle of "joint dependence" between the results of talks on reducing strategic and intermediate-range nuclear weapons on the one hand and the development of research into building space weapons on the other.

In the USSR's opinion, there is no sense in conducting scientific research into cosmic weapons if there is a real and honest attention of reaching an accord on a total and final liquidation of nuclear weapons. This kind of research creates the danger that there may be people in favor of testing and deploying space weapons.

In his Sunday speech before Soviet television cameras, A. Gromyko paid particular attention to this very ban on space weapons, pointing out the great importance of this problem for the entire shape of disarmament talks. The Soviet foreign minister stressed that the talks must be businesslike, and both sides' approach must be serious and in accordance with the elementary principle of this type of talks--the principle of equality and equal security. Only on condition that this principle is observed can one seek accords and positive solutions concerning the issue of strategic nuclear weapons, problems of space, and the question of intermediate-range nuclear weapons, A. Gromyko said. He then showed that the American space antimissile defense plan expresses an aim to achieve military superiority. The installation in Western Europe of American intermediate missiles, which for the USSR are strategic weapons aimed at its territory, serves the same purpose. Continuing their installation places a question mark over the entire sense of the talks.

The USSR regards the total elimination of nuclear weapons from the arms arsenal as the main purpose of talks, and is proposing a universal disarmament subject to control.

It is worth noting that Secretary of State G. Shultz said in Washington that he shares most of the views expressed by A. Gromyko on Soviet television on the subject of the rules and conditions for holding talks. The United States agrees with the principle of "joint dependence," G. Shultz said. The Geneva talks, he said, have permitted a recognition of mutual stances and a recognition of the serious differences between the United States and the USSR on the subject of future disarmament talks.

Political observers on the spot have pointed out the differences in views on the subject of the principle of "joint dependence" that have been appearing in the most recent enunciations by the U.S. secretary of state and defense secretary. This is merely one indication of how difficult and complex the talks whose commencement was decided in Geneva will be. Their worldwide scope, complexity of subject matter, and great influence are unprecedented in the entire history of disarmament negotiations. These will be completely new talks, taking place at three interconnected working levels at the same time.

Political realism requires us not to expect rapid progress. Nevertheless, world society agrees that common sense and the instinct of self-preservation will prevail.

The USSR stance presented by A. Gromyko contains a concrete program for lasting peace and for ridding the earth and space of the arms race nightmare.

CSO: 2600/479

POLAND

RFE DIRECTOR CRITICIZED FOR IDEOLOGICAL OFFENSIVE

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 49, 8 Dec 84 p 16

[Article by Daniel Passent: "Clear-Conscience Puritans"]

[Text] The fact that Radio Free Europe's boss is called George R. Urban would in itself have made me read his article in THE INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE of 22 November. I started reading idly, but then my interest was aroused. To my amazement, George R. Urban complains about the ineffectiveness of American propaganda abroad, not only when compared to that of other Western countries, but also when set against our own record in this domain.

I say "to my amazement," for if it is really so ineffective, then why does American propaganda invite so many complaints from Third World countries, from socialist countries, at UNESCO and elsewhere? Why is so much effort being put into fighting this propaganda, into resisting it? Either Mr G. R. Urban is simply very modest, which is not very likely, or he wants to obtain extra funds for his activities by showing how serious and difficult an assignment he has, and, following the example of the Pentagon's generals, is sounding the alarm that the enemy is gaining an advantage. After all, George Urban is a general in the war of words.

My amazement was further reinforced by the fact that, although the article was written by RFE's boss, and although the law on censorship is still in force in Poland, this article could well be reprinted in full in the Polish press. For reasons of space alone, I will just reproduce its first half here [retranslated throughout].

"It is a political curiosity of our times that the nation which invented Madison Avenue (a street in New York where advertising agencies are based) is so clumsy in conveying to Germans, Russians, French or Bulgarians the truth about the authentic nature of U.S. society, about the values cherished by Americans and their traditions of democracy.

"Sitting among UN delegates or listening to what Dutchmen or Mexicans say about themselves, one is struck by a puzzling phenomenon: the totalitarian world has managed to master the international language and terminology American society uses to describe itself.



"In this light, America is rapacious, exploiting, imperialist, vain and heartless. The Communist World (usually called 'socialist') and the Third World are peace-loving, progressive, merciful, egalitarian and brotherly. America is the embodiment of capitalist sins--it is others who stand up to defend noble ideas and public virtues.

"This vocabulary has stuck not because it is a reflection of the truth, but because democratic societies, above all the United States, have been pursuing what is primarily a defensive policy. They have no tradition of propounding their values in the language of ideology. The United States has no all-embracing concept of the world. It is wary of conveying anything that might sound like 'American ideology' (my emphasis. D.P.).

'The slight undertone of self-conceit and civilizational hypocrisy that made the British and French so persuasive in propagating the values of their own civilizations is nonexistent in American political culture. Americans are no longer sure they have 'seen their destiny,' much less that it would be in the public interest to propagate American principles, pride in their achievements or aspirations of leadership. According to some advocates of a clear conscience, a country as imperfect as the United States cannot teach the world anything."

The author then goes on to say how difficult it is to convey the truth about the United States to the world, complaining about the stereotype of "the ugly American," the primitive inhabitant of a superpower. The truth about America, he says, like some of the best French wines, travels badly. And he concludes, "Have some sympathy for the men and women who run the United States Information Agency, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and Voice of America."

In my view, if these people deserve any sympathy, it is because they have such a boss. It was established a long time ago that propaganda is effective in the long run only if it is backed by facts. Otherwise the cat gets let out of the bag very quickly indeed.

If RFE's director says that the United States does not have its own vision of the world and is reluctant to propagate something that might be termed an American "ideology" (director Urban's own quotation marks), then he is either grossly mistaken or is pretending to be. Every American Child knows what millions of people all over the world know, namely, that there are things such as an American civilization, an American system of values, an American way of life, and even an American way of departing this world (a book called "The American Way of Dying" [retranslated] has appeared in the United States). Whole institutes and journals, to say nothing of other institutions, have been created for the sole purpose of defending and propagating these values. Moreover, this self-confidence is now enjoying a renaissance, for never since the end of World War II has the United States had a president or an administration who took such an ideologically tinted view of the world as Ronald Reagan; even American critics charge him with using categories that are too ideological in judging other countries, instead of being more pragmatic about it.

While John F. Kennedy, for instance, talked about the Russians as another nation that had suffered terribly during World War II, the current president calls the Soviet Union "the Empire of Evil," seeing the world in black-and-white and successfully fueling and exploiting the current wave of self-satisfaction in the United States. It beats me how anybody can seriously maintain today that the United States has no vision of the world or that it is on the defensive in its propaganda, or, for that matter, that it is embarrassed to talk of its own values. In a nutshell, the world the present White House would like to see would be composed of states in which the economy was in private hands, freedom being understood primarily as freedom of economic activity; a world without social security benefits and without leftists (most certainly without Communists and left socialists); an alliance of countries in which the task of governments would be to govern as little as possible, since the totally unfettered initiative of free people in a free country is the best guarantee of success.

Anyone who dares to point out, as U.S. Catholic bishops did recently, that the gap between the rich and poor is widening; anyone who reminds the public, as these clergymen did, that the world should be judged not only in terms of a certain conception of freedom but also in terms of justice; anyone who, like those unfortunate bishops, questions arms policy--such a person automatically becomes in George Urban's ironical words a "clear conscience puritan" [retranslated]. He deplores the fact that some people criticize certain aspects of their own country, and tells them they do not appreciate what the world might learn from America.

Having read this article, I now have a better understanding of why RFE is not more effective than it actually is. The export versions of propaganda are always more crude than what the press writes for domestic consumption. Before the presidential elections, for example, one well-known newspaper published a cartoon portraying the president as a puppet, with a group of manipulators hiding behind a curtain pulling the strings. In many countries, the fact that a president can be depicted in such a manner would have much more effect than director Urban urging people to stop complaining about their own country and start proclaiming the good news about it. However, it is precisely this cartoon which is the good news, not some fairy stories about Washington having no comprehensive vision of the world. Every major ideology presupposes a definite interpretation of history and a definite view of the future. Pretending that one stands outside this can only fool the childishly naive.

On the subject of propaganda and its effectiveness, I would recommend an essay by Kazimierz Wyka entitled "Goebbels, Hitler and Cato," written in the middle of the Nazi occupation, in 1942, in the small town of Krzeszowice. He credited Nazi propaganda with a great role in paralyzing Europe, but noticed its ludicrousness as well as its effectiveness. When Wyka was writing his essay, the press of the time carried the following news: "On the evening of 17 December, the whole Islamic world will be gathering to celebrate the feast of Beiram, with Mecca and Medina the focal points of the ceremonies. In order to ensure free access to these two cities, the powers of the Triple Alliance (Germany, Italy, Japan--D.P.) have broadcast a radio statement guaranteeing safe passage to the celebrations for overseas pilgrims. The three powers declare they will create no difficulties for ships carrying pilgrims sailing under any flag. Moslem countries should recommend that shipping companies notify the powers of the Triple Alliance about organized travel groups, departure dates and all planned stopover ports on their routes."

What is worth noting here is that the positions the Axis held closest to Mecca were in Africa, in the Caucasus, in Burma and in India, so they had no practical opportunity of stopping Moslems on their way to their holy cities or letting them through. This was typical propaganda for domestic consumption, for people convinced that the Axis ruled the seas. Wyka then tried to imagine what might happen if the British, American and Soviet press published a communique concerning "Free Access to Salzburg"--"On (insert date), the whole musical world of Europe will be gathering to celebrate the 100th anniversary of (the birth of Wagner, Beethoven, Schubert, etc.), with the celebrations culminating at the Salzburg Festival. In order to ensure free access to this city, the Allied Powers have published a statement guaranteeing safe passage to the festival for European music lovers. The Allied Powers declare they will create no difficulties for the passage of trains carrying participants to the festival from European countries. European countries should recommend that travel agencies notify the Allied Powers about organized travel groups, departure dates and all planned stopovers at railway junctions."

Since it was 1942, the Allies had no influence on who traveled to Salzburg--this matter was beyond their control. Anyone who took such a communique seriously would have fallen victim to what Professor Wyka called "fantasies of imaginative deduction." True, it is a fair distance from Munich, where director Urban lives and works, to Krzeszowice, but there is a lesson here that should reach him (and reach some other quarters, too)--there is no point getting angry at somebody who refuses to believe propaganda which is not bucked by facts. Instead of ridiculing sceptics, those clear-conscience puritans who ridicule their own country, it is better to recognize that they produce the best propaganda, doing far better than those who always try to embellish reality.

CSO: 2600/464

POLAND

# PRINCIPLES OF CONSTITUTION DICTATE STATE-CHURCH RELATIONS

AU141949 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Jan 85 p 3

[Grzegorz Rydlewski article: "Separation of State and Church in Poland and the World"]

[Excerpts] The principle of the separation of the state from the church, which is provided for by the Constitution of 22 July 1953 in order to guarantee all citizens complete freedom of conscience and confession, regardless of their attitude toward religion, has for years been a subject of special interest on the part of the forces that are hostile to the socialist political and legal order in our country.

One manifestation of this interest is demonstrated by the propagation of false ideas and evaluations aimed at dividing our people, for political reasons, into believers and nonbelievers, at creating conflicts and tension in the relations between the state and the Catholic Church, and at destabilizing the political and social situation in Poland.

It should be clearly stated that the separation of the state from the Church is not a specific Polish problem as the centers of political subversion continue to maintain. Nor is this problem restricted to the socialist countries.

One of the unsubstantiated myths of state-church relations is the assertion that the socialist model of the separation of the state from the church helps curb the religious activities of the churches and religious associations, create conflicts between the state and the church, and hinder believers from participating in public, political, and social life. History has proved that the solutions adopted by the socialist system provide much wider guarantees for freely performing religious activities than is the case in many other states.

Another myth refuted by reality is the thesis that conflicts and tension resulting from the observance of the principles of the separation of the state from the church are a specific feature of the socialist countries. It is true that in the beginning the individual socialist countries were forced to impose certain administrative restrictions for a certain time on the activities of religious associations. These restrictions corresponded to the extent to which the church was connected with the capitalist system and to the extent to which the clergy displayed its political attitudes in practice. However, these restrictions were speedily removed, and later on religious associations obtained many new privileges.

The Polish example of the separation of the state from the church shows that the socialist concept of state-church relations is mutually advantageous and does not prevent the religious associations from enjoying favorable conditions for the religious and social activities that conform with equal rights for all citizens with equality for all confessions. Experience in this regard has been positive in the past 40 years of People's Poland. All the 30-odd religious associations in Poland, including the Catholic Church, possess the necessary material and personnel base, which is ever increasing, and the conditions for propagating their views with the help of the mass media and their own developing publishing facilities. In this situation even the U.S. President was forced to state anew in his 17th report to the Commission for Security and Cooperation in Europe on implementing the decisions of the CSCE Final Act: "The Polish Government permits the essential freedom of religion. The churches enjoy the full freedom of religious rites, masses continue to be beamed over the radio, and about 1,000 churches have been built since 1980." This report was published in Washington last December.

That the international community approves of Polish religious policy is attested to by the fact that Professor A. Lopatka, who is in charge of the Office of Religious Affairs, was elected chairman of a UN seminary, which was devoted for 2 weeks last December to the understanding of and tolerance and respect for religious freedom.

The Polish example also shows that the separation of the state from the church must not amount to a complete separation and that there is room in it for regular discussions between representatives of the state and the individual churches, including the Catholic Church, about the issues involving state interests, the further development and strengthening of the state, and the better implementation of the people's needs. These issues indicate in which areas the state and the individual churches active in Poland can cooperate. However, this cooperation must be based on the principles of the Constitution. All attempts to violate these principles pose a threat to the further favorable development of state-church relations. Eliminating the statements, conduct, and activities of some clerical and lay persons connected with the Catholic Church--statements, conduct, and activities that are in conflict with the Constitution and the laws--is a condition for continuing and enriching the present positive experience and should help reduce the differences in views on the matters that do not involve ideology and do not therefore require rigid positions.

CSO: 2600/476

POLAND

URBAN GIVES PRESS CONFERENCE

AU161700 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 Jan 85 p 4

["Transcript" of Warsaw press conference given by Minister Jerzy Urban for foreign journalists on 8 January]

[Excerpt] Robert Strybel, the Polonia press: Minister, the defendants in the Father Popieluszko trial continue to assert that they agreed to frighten, kidnap, beat up, and so on, Father Popieluszko, but that they had reservations about slaying him. I would like to ask you how far the regulations of the Ministry of Internal Affairs allow its functionaries to use means of constraint. People say that some missiles may be used and that in 11 cases shots may be fired. Could you tell us what means of physical or psychological restraint are permitted without violating the regulations?

Urban: I am able to answer in only the most general terms, but you should ask the spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs about these regulations. What you have raised are defensive actions or actions involved in pursuing a criminal. The regulations governing such actions do not differ from the regulations governing the actions of all police forces in the world. Those missiles you have mentioned are merely compressed gas cartridges, which are used to overwhelm a criminal when he attacks a militia man or when he tries to escape by applying physical force. I see no connection between the means that the militia must use like every police force in the world in order to track down and arrest criminals, who are not always gentlemen obeying the militia's instructions, and between that horrible slaying committed under horrible circumstances--a slaying that has been a lawless act from the very beginning to the very end.

Bradley Graham, Washington POST: Before the Torun trial began, General Jaruzelski had said that in the face of the possible punishment by the death the defendants may disclose the names of the higher placed persons who could have instigated that conspiracy. However, the opposite took place at the trial: The two lieutenants retracted their previous confessions in which they had mentioned higher placed persons connected with the conspiracy. I would like to ask you whether the government now takes the view that this conspiracy involves only the four defendants on trial in Torun.

Urban: In order to formulate any political or official conclusions, the government is waiting for the results of the trial, which is still in its

infancy. I will not comment on the proceedings taking place in an independent court of justice. Only when the results of the trial are known, will the government draw the relevant conclusions.

Robert Strybel, the Polonia press: Minister, as for Kalinowski [former Solidarity activist, who legally immigrated to Norway in December 1984], you have given us most exhaustive information, but if a reporter tried to obtain it elsewhere he would encounter difficulties because people would be evasive. For example, the spokesmen in plants are most reluctant to talk, the spokesman of the Ministry of Internal Affairs sends us to you, but when you are absent from your office, which happens at times, none of your aides can tell us anything. What does the press law state about the individual spokesmen's duty to supply information? Is it that they must supply information? Can they be evasive and hide behind you or any other official? Can they say that it is not in their power to supply information?

Urban: It is the duty of the state apparatus to supply information, but the nature of information determines whose duty it is to supply it. There are items of information that only the government spokesman and not a representative of a plant or of a ministry can supply. As for such things as where Mr Kalinowski has worked and what has happened to him, the appropriate representatives of plants or of local administrative bodies should and must supply the necessary information. The Government Press Bureau, of which I am in charge, makes every effort to ensure that the regulations concerning the supply of information are observed and function properly. We have noted great improvements in this regard, but some journalists, above all, Polish journalists, continue to complain that they are being palmed off with flimsy excuses and sent from Peter to Paul. The observance of the regulations in question is still lax to some extent, which I have to admit self-critically as the one who is responsible for information. To get information one has to take pains--one has to run about, ask, and gather. My bureau has also taken pains to find out the facts about Mr Kalinowski in his plant and with regard to his legal complications. I will willingly help you if you make a similar effort in a similar case in order to establish the truth. The fact is that the Western press is very keen on blowing out false information without trying to verify the facts.

Stein Savik, AFTENPOSTEN, Norway: Another question about Kalinowski, who said in Norway that after he had been released from internment he did not get his original job back, but was demoted. Could you comment?

Urban: I am unable to say what job he originally had and what job he was given after release. All I know is that he was given a job in the same plant and that he agreed to take it. It is not always possible to get back the same job, because someone else might have taken it. But this is not a case for me to speculate on. Subsequent facts showed that Kalinowski had not been too good a specialist, in the view of which one is hard put to remonstrate with one's employer, especially if one works only one-fifth of the year.

Robert Strybel, the Polonia press: Minister, you often speak of letters addressed to you or to your office. Could you tell us roughly how many letters are positive, how many negative, and how many are neither?

Urban: I read these letters every day, but we do not keep any statistics on them. Perhaps we should begin classifying them the way you have suggested so that we have some idea about them on a yearly basis. What I can tell you is that these letters indicate a certain trend. I would divide them into three groups. The first group, which is most worrisome, are letters about various human problems. They are addressed to me in error, because many citizens think that since I speak about various issues at my press conferences I am the right person to have such issues settled with. For example, when I speak about the material situation of pensioners I soon receive large numbers of letters with specific complaints about the size of various pensions. The second group of letters polemizes with what I speak about at the press conferences as a government spokesman and tells me that their authors hold different views from mine. These letters contain various rectifications and dissenting views. The third group of letters, which arrives in ever smaller numbers, are anonymous letters, actually offensive letters. This kind of epistle is on the wane. Last season [sezon] we had many letters about the Catholic Church in connection with my statements about it. The last season was such that, on the whole, these letters supported the position I publicly assumed or they considered my position as too moderate and too considerate and lacking in dynamism with regard to the criticism of those phenomena within the Catholic Church that the state authorities do not like.

CSO: 2600/478



POLAND

# MINISTER, COUNCIL OF HIGHER EDUCATION CLASH OVER AMENDMENT

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 49, 8 Dec 84 p 10

[Article by Marek Rostocki: "Concerning the Law on Higher Education the Two Sides Present Their Arguments"]

[Text] At the 16 November session of the Chief Council of Science and Higher Education, the higher education and science minister, Professor Benon Miskiewicz, for a first time told representatives of the academic community that he was in favor of amending the 4 May 1982 law on higher education. This immediately made public the dispute between the minister and the council, which is opposed to amending this law at this moment. Since it has aroused great interest on the part of the public, we present here the arguments the two sides have been advancing to prop up their cases.

At the 15-16 November session the council said, "The discussion has disclosed significant differences of opinion between the minister and the council concerning the situation in the higher education sector, the process of elections to college boards, the needs for amending the law, and also the respective assessments of the proposed changes."

Both the minister and the council have come up with different arguments regarding each of these four matters.

## The Situation at Colleges

Miskiewicz in his statements voices his concern, among other things, over the following facts of college life which he regards as negative:

- the general enervation of intellectual activity of Polish colleges, which is reflected in the small number of significant discoveries, the slowdown of research activity for subjective reasons, the falling number of new nominations for the degree of assistant professor or doctor, the falling number of published research papers;

- the outsized membership of college government bodies (mainly faculty councils and college senates) which makes for inefficient in operation;

--the weakening of the position of professors at colleges;

--the insufficient commitment of college lecturers to the process of shaping young people's ideological and political attitudes.

The council has this to say:

There have indeed been fewer nominations for assistant professors or doctorates, but this is due to tougher requirements than before, a circumstance which should be praised.

Publications, too, have decreased in number, but again higher quality requirements are responsible; among other things, often pseudo-scientific "research fascicles" published by individual colleges have been curbed. Besides, the printing industry is in a catastrophic condition--in extreme cases it may take several years before a given study can appear in print.

Council members fail to see any relation between the 4 May law and the number of discoveries and the quality of research papers. What decides the latter is the given college's financial situation, the quality and quantity of its research facilities, as well as the shape of the economy as a whole.

As concerns college government body size, nobody denies a compromise should be sought between democracy and pragmatic operating efficiency, but this is in no sense a dramatically urgent matter and can be regulated by way of changes in college statutes for which no amendment of the law is necessary.

As for the actual influence professors have on college life, can it be meaningfully contended their influence has been waning if they are automatically members of faculty councils.

Finally, as concerns the "politicization" of education, the council abides by the law's provision that a higher school's primary duty is to educate highly skilled specialists. It is to be doubted, considering past experience, that educational and political matters at colleges can be resolved by administrative methods.

#### How the Elections Worked

On 20 July, Miskiewicz told the Sejm's Commissions for Science and Technology and for Education about his assessment of elections of college governmental bodies which were held in spring this year for the first time according to the new law.

"In a few cities (Warsaw, Poznan, Lublin, partly Gdansk), the elections occasioned open antistate propaganda actions and some people even questioned the state character of the schools as well as the socialist orientation of the educational process. In most schools, the elections were held without disturbances, and we have no objections to them, but negative developments occurred in biggest academic centers."

In an article published in the latest issue of the PZPR monthly NOWE DROGI, the minister furnished a slightly milder version of his case, "In view of their sporadic occurrence, actions resembling political provocations which happened during the election campaigns to college governmental bodies must not be overrated."

The facts the council has in mind are these. The higher education and science minister vetoed three elected rectors (at the Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznan, the Boleslaw Bierut University of Wroclaw, and Warsaw University). In two cases, new rectors were elected in a second ballot, and only in one case (at Warsaw University) the rector-elect was chosen again after a great delay, on 3 December.

In all, 90 colleges elected new rectors. The minister vetoed none of the 128 newly elected prorectors. Some 48 percent of the new rectors (and 49 percent of all pro-rectors) are party members or members of the allied political groups ZSL and SD. Of rectors who were appointed during the martial law period, 10 were re-elected.

With all this in view, the council said that in its assessment of the elections, "Their process is recognized as quite satisfactory. Electoral actions undertaken by college governments in no way affected the normal course of work of colleges. The 1984 elections proceeded in an atmosphere of seriousness and awareness of their significance, and are generally regarded to have been positive.

What should be underscored is the harmful and groundless overexposure of the elections' political aspects. Where this happened, the local academic communities alone must analyze such cases in order to find ways of forestalling such things in the future."

#### For and Against the Amendment

In its "Assessment of the Functioning of the Law on Higher Education" which it drew up for the Sejm, the ministry wrote, "In practice, this law often turns out to be a tool used by the opposition for sowing unrest in academic communities. The opposition has transformed self-government institutions into mechanisms for fighting the socialist state. The two-year period of the law's operation forces one to ask if it should be maintained in its original formulation or submitted for necessary corrections."

In a letter sent to the minister on 19 October, the council chairman, Professor Roman Ciesielski, writes, "The council has been alarmed by increasingly frequent reports from different sources that amendments are being contemplated to the 4 May 1984 law on higher education. These reports have a distressing effect upon academic communities, weakening their discipline, and leading to unquestionably undesirable frustrations. We are not saying that weaknesses, inadequacies or potential misinterpretations of the law which may appear in practice should not be scrutinized--this, incidentally, is what we have been doing all along. Nor are we saying that after some time the law may not require any amendment. But the council believes the time for this amendment has not yet come."

The council's stand is, briefly, that the law on higher education should be maintained without change until the end of the three-year term of the recently elected college governmental bodies.

#### How Far Amendment May Possibly Go

In the above-quoted speech by the minister to the Sejm commissions it is stated that "most numerous are doubts and remarks reported to the ministry on the following matters;

- "1) the scope of the minister's control of colleges he is entitled to supervise;
- "2) possibilities for effective reactions by the minister in cases of violating the law or public interests by college governmental bodies;
- "3) increasing the number of full professors, assistant professors and associate professors in college senates and faculty councils;
- "4) guaranteeing to state authorities real influence on nominations for top posts at college (rector, pro-rectors, deans, deputy deans);
- "5) expanding the rector's and the dean's decision-making ability;
- "6) changing the character of students' self-government bodies by endowing college-based branches of national student organizations with the right to represent the interests of all students toward college authorities;
- "7) extending the regular reviews of academic staff's [professional] competence by an assessment of civic and sociopolitical attitudes; and
- "8) reducing as far as possible the number of work contracts for academic lectures which are based on appointments to definite posts for a definite period or without specifying the time limit."

On 15 November, the minister presented these eight points to the council as the likeliest scope of the law's amendment.

The council, for its part, drew up a written report at the same session for state and party authorities, for the Sejm and for academic communities, saying "In connection with the minister's announcement that the proposed amendment of the law will be submitted to the Council of Ministers' Sociopolitical Council the Council of Science and Higher Education is of the opinion that this should be preceded by discussions within the academic communities on the purpose of the proposed changes in the law and by this council's own opinion on these proposed changes."

One factor in this dispute is the fact that anonymous draft amendment texts are being circulated--also anonymously. Asked at the 15 November Council session if the ministry was the author of the circulated draft amendment, Miskiewicz firmly denied this. He also pointed out that under the present tense conditions the circulation of similar draft texts may be a deliberate provocation.

POLAND

## REASONS GIVEN FOR ACUTE HOUSING SHORTAGE

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 23, 25 Nov 84 p 1

[Article by Aleksander Paszynski: "Let Us Shed All Illusions"]

[Text] The millions who are waiting for any kind of roof above their heads cannot be told anything more specific than trite platitudes or doubtful consolations that their lot is shared by more families than officially admitted. Also, you can tell them that the optimism which occasionally flows from official rostrums rests on dubious estimates. All we can do is try to explain just why things are so bad.

To begin with, I have to repeat another of those platitudes--the housing crisis now suffered by Poland is one of the worst in the postwar period and is much deeper than the crisis suffered by any other economic sector. If we take construction volume as the yardstick of progress, we can easily demonstrate that Poland has fallen back to the level of the mid-sixties, which are recognized by all as having been definitely the worst period ever for Poland's housing industry. You may recall that the shortage of housing resources gave birth at that time to the notorious idea of "cheap building," which meant a drastic deterioration of dwelling standards symbolized by trimming from buildings of balconies or loggias, and from apartments even WCs. Yet the present housing shortage, especially compared to rising public aspirations, is much more acute, apart from involving the danger of revitalizing similar ideas. Incidentally, such an attempt has already been made in the form of Professor Adolf Ciborowski's much-publicized idea of "intervention" housing projects. This idea even got praises from various quarters, as the situation indeed justifies speaking of a "housing disaster."

### Just How Big Is This Shortage?

In 1970, the shortage of self-contained apartments was estimated at some 1.3 million. By the end of the 1970's this shortage rose to 1.7 million, and now all signs are that it has surpassed the 2-million point. It may even be much greater than that. I owe readers an explanation of why I am being so tentative in citing these data, although housing needs seem easy to quantify. Housing cooperatives recently stopped admitting new applicants for members. This was a move which was sensible from the standpoint of housing cooperatives' own interests, because it discontinued the legal and factual fiction of unrealistic obligations housing cooperatives had toward people waiting for their turn without membership prerogatives but only with PKO Savings Bank certificates in hand. But since no lists of applicants now exist, it is difficult to cite the length of the list as evidence.

This inaccuracy of housing shortage estimates obviously affects estimates of demand. Simply, it can be said that demand is composed of three main items-- the shortage existing in the base year, demand resulting from population growth, and the number of apartments that have to be "scrapped" because of age, technical backwardness or various other reasons. Of these, only the demographic factor can be a relatively accurate and invariable item, and even so only during brief periods. The shortage in the base year is affected by errors resulting from ignoring human aspirations and dreams, while the third factor, i.e., demolition of old apartments, is usually manipulated by planners, for the fewer apartments which are turned over to lodgers, the greater the number of old dwelling units which are kept alive at any price. This explains why overhaul needs have been skyrocketing for years. The city of Cracow, which is disintegrating right before our eyes, is a pertinent case in question, but evidence for these observations can be found in every Polish city.

Planning can embrace everything, even though life goes its course in total defiance of what planners say. But planners' endeavors are rejected by the people concerned, for people always aspire to conditions they envisage for themselves and not to those devised for them by somebody else. It may of course be lamented that consumer pressures for new housing resources ignore the economy's actual possibilities, but this would be a most futile exercise.

In 1978, the best year in the history of the construction sector's performance, some 280,000 apartments were built in Poland, more than 200,000 of which were in blocks of flats. The optimistic version of the 1985 draft plan provides for 130,000-135,000 apartments in blocks of flats and for 200,000 in all. But the Institute for Environment Research estimates that in order to bridge the statistical shortage of dwelling units (readers recall that this statistical shortage may be undersized) Poland should provide roughly 4.5 million new apartments in 1981-1990. The first half of this decade, as can now be said with almost absolute certainty, will provide no more than 800,000 apartments. Accordingly, in the upcoming five-year period some 3.3 million units should be built, or 660,000 on average every year. These are almost astronomical figures. As will perhaps be remembered, at its July 1981 sitting devoted to the housing problem the Sejm set 300,000-350,000 apartments as the yearly output figure to be achieved by the end of the 1980's, but even this target was recognized by many commentators as certainly unfeasible.

#### About To Hit the "Threshold"

For hundreds of thousands of families, prospects are therefore dramatic. By now, waiting time for keys to a new apartment has grown to 15 years on average, and to more than 20 years in most big cities; should the construction industry work at current output rates, this waiting time will grow even further, precisely because the backlog of outstanding housing needs keeps growing. Observe that as a result of the steadily growing backlog of housing demand, waiting line for apartments can be estimated to reach nearly (or maybe even more than) 3 million people by the end of the 1980's. Since almost every person in that potential line has a family, it can safely be said that roughly 10 million people are waiting to move into their own apartments. This is approximately half of Poland's adult population, and a population which is in the most active period of its life. This is no longer just a problem of getting a roof above your

heads, it is absolutely the most important problem of social policy! Already the housing situation generates numerous social maladies and affects the legal and moral order.

Alas, all previous obligations the authorities took upon themselves have proved illusory. Maybe it is even better that no new equally unrealistic promises are being made. At any rate, nobody should expect that any spectacular decision may accomplish a miracle in the housing sector. The housing sector's present incapacitation involves a deep infrastructural gap which sets a very high barrier to development; this gap will affect the rate of progress even after the construction industry overcomes its own inherent inadequacies. The infrastructural gap manifests itself primarily in the steadily deteriorating environmental conditions which threaten an ecological catastrophe any time. Poland suffers an acute shortage of technically prepared building sites and of all facilities classed as technical infrastructure. This is true of energy systems, as of the conditions of rivers, water and sewage networks or traffic facilities.

Again, as in the case of apartments, this is not a matter of oversight or lack of awareness, for the infrastructural gap has been widening for years as a consequence of an erroneous investment doctrine which has been an official dogma throughout the postwar period. To use the term of the outstanding town planner, Professor Boleslaw Malisz, nearly all Polish cities are about to hit the upper "threshold," or barrier, to their growth--any further expansion will now require colossal new resources and enormous amounts of capital. This is made even worse by what Professor Jan Gorynski calls the "overhaul" gap, which has also grown immensely due to years of negligence.

This is an entirely new situation. An impassive expert might now come forward with what would be a fully justified if totally unrealistic proposal--namely, that all construction of multi-story buildings should be suspended for several years while the entire effort would go into filling these gaps. I think that this radical move might, in the long course, furnish a real chance for speeding up housing construction, even though at first it would only deepen the housing shortage. This is why this option is difficult to push through and probably unacceptable for the authorities who would probably not hazard such a move because of possible political repercussions.

#### The Basic Question

Having written all this, I can no longer dodge the basic question, namely how could so deep a housing crisis come about? Or, for that matter, so deep a crisis of Poland's cities? The honest answer is, this crisis did not break out suddenly, nor is it only a consequence of the economy's collapse at the turn of the 1970's and the 1980's. Symptoms were there for years, and were even signalled, although such signals were hardly ever passed on to the general public. I am saying this with full responsibility, because I was twice ordered to stop writing about this in my journalistic career (in the 1960's and the 1970's).



The present, particularly acute housing crisis is due to the fact that the weak economy no longer can hide what could previously be hushed up by stopgap moves which briefly enhanced official housing programs.

It must be said emphatically that, despite frequent lip-service to the contrary, housing construction was never granted the kind of priority treatment which was professed in so many official enunciations and official documents. With some simplification you can say that the model of housing construction is a consequence of previous investment models; since the late 1940's, investment projects, falsely called unproductive projects, have always been deliberately curtailed, their only chance for implementation coming with one or another political crisis. But such crises lasted for too short a period for the changes proclaimed to affect the situation in any significant manner.

Leafing through a study published by the Institute for Building Economics and Organization I came across a diagram plotting housing's share in the construction sector's total output. Even if you knew nothing at all about postwar Poland's historical vicissitudes, you could read from the curve the periods in which political crises broke out, along with their echoes in the form of temporary extensions of housing programs. Demands that housing construction should be sped up were voiced in June 1956 in Poznan, in December 1970 in Gdansk and Szczecin, in June 1976 and in August 1980 all over Poland. But this time the economic collapse of recent years has jammed whatever echo may have been caused.

One conclusion, in my view, is this: the concept of housing policy has proved a defeat, the most blatant expression of which is that Poland has the lowest indicator of apartments under construction per 1,000 population in Europe (Albania is the only country I have no data about), and this despite the fact that Poland not only suffers a most acute shortage now but will also have to face rapid increases in housing demand as the recent baby-boom generation will be coming of age. I refute demagogic charges that this housing policy fiasco is due to stupidity or, even worse, to deliberate actions to harm society's interests. This would be too easy an explanation which would lead to erroneous conclusions. The only thing to do would in such a case be to replace the people in charge and the housing situation would instantly become a paradise. So, the only remaining explanation is, the housing policy proved a fiasco because the state took it upon itself to provide the people with dwellings even though there was no way fulfilling this obligation, because of the general concept of national development which has been followed throughout the four postwar decades.

Theoretically, there is of course the possibility of returning to the original doctrine, adopting a new development policy, and assigning appropriate labor resources and capital to the realization of some great new housing program. But for various reasons (some of which I presented above) this is unfeasible, however fine it may sound. Let me be frank--under present very difficult conditions the problem would be better served by attempting a deep reorientation of the state's housing policy than by retaining illusions. In other words, the state should be relieved of the unrealistic declaration and organizational, economic, technical and legal conditions should be furnished to promote massive private home building starts.



## Another Model

Apparently, this is an attack on our rights and our family budgets. Indeed, this may or may not be so--all depends on the kind of solution that will be adopted. By the way, all countries that now have relatively little trouble meeting housing demands have achieved this by adopting what in Poland is rather inadequately called single-family housing. Apartments in low buildings present an interesting statistical picture when you consult their share in total housing resources in different countries. In the United States, this share is 88 percent, in the UK it is 73 percent, in Sweden 70 percent, in West Germany and Yugoslavia each 67 percent. In most socialist countries in Europe, single-family housing accounts for between 34-40 percent, and in Poland alone it never has exceeded 25-30 percent.

Yet single-family housing construction always came to the rescue of housing relying on prefabricated blocks, even in Poland. Even during the worst crises, if single-family housing declined then it did so relatively less violently than when prefabricated-block housing slowed. All this takes place in a situation in which everything is almost exclusively oriented toward that "large-scale" housing construction which operates enormous building capacities, powerful design offices, investment potentials, etc. I think that organization and design alone give jobs to several hundred thousand people, whereas single-family housing, which provides a considerable one-third of all apartments commissioned for use in Poland, has no organization or service networks worthy of this name. But if it did? Would these groups be granted real preferences?

As a rule, many counterarguments are advanced against this idea. Most of them, though, are demagogical or doctrinaire in character. This is not the right place for analyzing the matter in its technical aspects, so let me only briefly point out that intensive single-family housing can achieve land-use indices close to those of prefabricated block construction, or that 1 m<sup>3</sup> of usable floor area in single-family housing is now only 5 percent more expensive than in blocks of flats. In this situation, the all-decisive cost-effectiveness estimate should be made in micro and not in macro scale. In other words, it should be analyzed whether or not construction (and maintenance) costs of such dwelling facilities are manageable by Poles within family budgets.

However, this brings us to an embarrassing social-policy problem, which is of greater significance than just that for housing. This policy created an entirely new kind of social division, one based upon the kind of apartment people occupy. Comparisons of family budgets show that families with similar status indicators--occupation, income level, family size, etc.--pay drastically different rents for their apartments. Occasionally, rents are even the most significant item in family budgets. Even if we disregard cases of high fees for apartments hired from private owners (something which is anything but a marginal matter), it should be constantly pointed out that for public-house or owner-occupied apartments built in recent years (and ownership of such an apartment is often a matter of accident, or necessity, rather than free choice) differences in fees are sometimes ten-fold, and this again is a result of fortuitous circumstances such as date of moving in or the particular building's location. Owners of different apartments also participate in the collective consumption fund, while single-family home owners have virtually no access to this fund.

This is a very telling fact. Budget subsidies for public-house apartments are extolled loudly, while similar subsidies for housing cooperatives are mentioned in a more low-key manner because only the lucky few who occupy tenants' apartments benefit and not the owners of the apartments. It is precisely in order to reduce subsidies that the share of owner-occupied apartments is being enhanced in the overall number of apartments commissioned for use, even though owner-occupied apartment building and maintenance also have to be subsidized. I mean budgetary subsidies for warm water supplies and other municipal services. All this is a consequence of the state's reluctance to fix home rents at actual cost levels. This reluctance is partly due to fears of possible social reactions. [Law of 31 July 1981, on the control of publications and entertainments, Article 2.1.2 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20.99, as amended in DZIENNIK USTAW 1983, No 44.204)]. But the circumstance of something being "cheap" in no way affects the truth that it must cost as much as it actually does, the only difference being in the manner in which this thing is paid for. It can be paid for from people's wages, but also from public funds (this year the subsidies amount to roughly Zl 200 billion), whereby the national income for distribution is proportionately reduced.

So, if it is recognized as a matter of principle that all kinds of housing construction have equal rights, then the level of the financial barrier connected with the choice of dwelling is radically changed too. It then suffices to establish that housing credits (differentiated depending on the applicant's income level and family status) are granted not to an institution (a housing cooperative) but to individual persons wanting an apartment.

Under these conditions, a prospective lodger can really make his choice--if he can move into a cheaper, more suitable or more quickly commissioned apartment in a housing cooperative, hardly anyone would build their own house. But what if single-family houses emerge better off in a comparison?

The rule should be simply this: the burden of "getting" an apartment should not depend on the kind of dwelling--and I mean all along apartments and homes of standards which are widely acceptable, and not luxurious "villas." As for preferential terms, they should be accorded most generously of all to private home builders because these people relieve the state of a considerable amount of obligation, committing their own energy and labor input to a realization of their dreams about a home.

The above proposal is of course debatable, but I don't think any other way is still ponderable. In other words, any other version than the above one would be tantamount to a perpetuation of illusions. I repeat--unless existing methods are abandoned, there is no chance for speeding up the resolution of the acute social problem of housing in the foreseeable future. The past 40 years have provided ample evidence of this.

What is necessary is a public discussion of ways to reconcile social policy considerations with consequences to society of shouldering this burden. But this is another matter. Here I just wanted to underline that a cardinal precondition for the above-proposed solution is the creation of an authentic representation of millions private home builders and owners, a body which would be able to articulate their interests and effectively defend their arguments in negotiations with administration bodies at all levels.

[Note: The Wroclaw weekly SRAWY I LUDZIE (No 47, 29 November 1984, p 16) published this remark:]

Aleksander Paszynski, a weathered advocate of new ideas, who was formerly on the staff of POLITYKA and later of the Solidarity weekly [TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC], is now seen in the Warsaw Archdiocese weekly PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI with the idea that the only rescue against an impending housing catastrophe is a general drift toward private home building. Paszynski certainly knows what he is saying. He relies on experience gained in building churches and presbyteries.

By the way, the Warsaw Archdiocese organ can be bought at newsstands in the Wroclaw Archdiocese, which are owned by a party publishing house. The Marxist-Leninist SPRAWY I LUDZIE not only is not sold in Warsaw churches, but it is difficult to get even at ordinary newsstands. This is just one reminder of how far tolerance goes in socialist Poland.

CSO: 2600/461

POLAND

BRIEFS

JARUZELSKI CONVERSES WITH FACTORY WORKERS--Wojciech Jaruzelski has visited workers at the Swierczewski Factory in Warsaw. That over-100-year old factory is one of the most important manufacturers of measuring instruments. During his stay of several hours at the factory, the first secretary of the party Central Committee talked with several dozen workers, technicians, and engineers right at their work sites. They discussed quality of production, manufacturing costs, implementation of scientific and technological progress, and workers self-management and trade unions. During the conversation with the best rationalizers of the factory, possibilities for speeding up the progress from idea to practical use were viewed as well as the harmonious links between inventors' moral and material satisfaction. Wojciech Jaruzelski, who was accompanied by Marian Wozniak, Mieczyslaw Debicki, and Janusz Maciejewicz, wished all his interlocutors personal and professional success. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 15 Jan 85 LD]

DIPLOMATIC ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATED--On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Poland and the Soviet Union, Stefan Olszowski has received representatives from the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw, including Ambassador Aleksandr Aksenov. The meeting was attended by Jozef Czyrek. Evaluating Polish-Soviet relations, Stefan Olszowski stressed that they are characterized by highly dynamic cooperation in every sphere. Ambassador Aleksandr Aksenov said that the past 40 years have been a period of a new kind of formation and development in Polish-Soviet relations. [Text] [Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 11 Jan 85]

CSO: 2600/480

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

MINISTERIAL APPOINTMENTS--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Dumitru Bejan is appointed minister state secretary in the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets. Comrade Vasile Ionel is relieved of his position as deputy minister of transportation and telecommunications and appointed deputy minister of technical-material supply and control of the management of fixed assets. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 92, 21 Dec 84 p 6]

RELEASE OF OFFICIAL--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Severian Bereanu Milculescu is relieved of his position as state secretary in the Higher Court for Financial Control. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 92, 21 Dec 84 p 7]

PEOPLES COUNCIL APPOINTMENT--On the basis of Article 97 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the peoples councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ioan Foris is delegated to fill the position of chairman of the executive committee of the Calarasi County People's Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 92, 21 Dec 84 p 7]

CSO: 2700/83

YUGOSLAVIA

TANJUG REFUTES USSR HISTORIAN'S VIEW OF WORLD WAR II

LD201640 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1226 GMT 20 Jan 85

[Text] Belgrade, 20 January (TANJUG)--A detailed article by the Soviet historian Major-General V. Matsulenko, carried by the January issue of the respectable Soviet journal MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZH, is among the latest attempts to devalue Yugoslavia's national liberation struggle, and to question the authenticity of its socialist revolution, writes '4 July' organ of the SUBNOR [Federation of Veterans' Association of Yugoslavia].

Supporting the thesis that through "its liberating mission" the Red Army fulfilled its internationalist duty and brought freedom to the countries in east and central Europe, General Matsulenko, who is also head of a department at the Voroshilov Military Academy of the General Staff, equates Yugoslavia's 4-year long and heroic national liberation struggle with the resistance movements in Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, Italy, and Greece. He places side by side units of our National Liberation Army and the "military formations of the fraternal countries" which, as is well-known, were formed just before the fall of Hitler's Reich.

Disregarding Yugoslavia's contribution to the allies' joint efforts to crash fascism, Matsulenko comes out in favor of the thesis that by "liberating the countries in southeast and central Europe" in World War II, the Soviet Army paved the way for popular-democratic systems and the transition to socialism, and subsequently for the creation of the socialist community." This statement not only devalues the organized armed struggle which Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities waged against fascism, and questions the authenticity of the Yugoslav socialist revolution, but it also indirectly places Yugoslavia in the same rank with the countries which the Soviet Army truly liberated and helped to change their social systems.

The claim by KOMMUNIST, the organ of the Soviet party, that "in post-war systems in countries such as Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Romania" is somehow in the same category as those of General Matsulenko.

To come up with theses which ignore and devalue the role and contribution of the national liberation struggle, Yugoslavia's socialist revolution and its national liberation army to the final crash of the fascist coalition, in the year when the world will mark in a dignified way the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II, is an obvious example of unscrupulous attempts to falsify irrefutable historical facts.

General Matsulenko and others should know that there have been occasions when events from World War II were treated in an authentic way. This was done last October by Radio Moscow in its program on the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Belgrade, by AGITATOR, the CPSU Central Committee journal, and by the head of the Frunze Military Academy. They all stated that, from the very beginning, fighters, all Soviet people and the Red Army were well informed about the struggle waged by Yugoslav patriots... about "brotherhood tempered through arms and a joint struggle against the same enemy."

"Throughout the whole war Yugoslav people waged armed struggle against fascist occupying forces and their collaborators. The prime mover and organizer of the national liberation war in Yugoslavia, when the tasks of socialist revolution were also determined, was the Communist Party of Yugoslavia under the leadership of Josip Broz Tito.... At the time of its meeting with the Red Army the National Liberation Army of Yugoslavia had 400,000 fighters and its own cadre.... The Red Army entered Yugoslavia on the basis of an agreement between the Soviet and Yugoslav leaderships on joint actions and operations.... Col-Gen Aleksey Zheltov, chairman of the Soviet Committee of War Veterans, stressed at the press conference in Moscow, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of Belgrade. [Punctuation as received]

The texts by General Matsulenko and the KOMMUNIST represent to some extent the continuation of regular attempts to reshape and falsify history. However, these attempts are often denied by Soviet eye-witnesses themselves who took part in the Belgrade operation. All this inevitably raises the question of the purpose of these blatant falsifications of historical facts, 40 years after the end of the war. All the more so, since in 1981, first in Volgograd and then in Moscow, consultative meetings were held between Yugoslav and Soviet historians aimed at establishing joint standpoints on a series of issues regarding World War II and at finally ending the attempts to reshape history.

Impartiality in the way facts,--the historical ones as well about Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union are presented--is a significant factor for the successfully developing sound and friendly Yugoslav-Soviet relations based on the well-known principles. [Sentence as received]

Yugoslavia has never disputed that the USSR bore the brunt in the struggle against fascism nor that Yugoslavia never received assistance from any quarter whatsoever. However, we will never accept any theory, from whichever side it comes, that our freedom, independence, and socialism were presented to us; since in doing so we would reject over a million of our people who perished in the war, our 4-year struggle, and our socialist revolution led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and Comrade Tito.

CSO: 2800/177

YUGOSLAVIA

MARELJ DISCUSSES VOJVODINA'S ROLE UNDER CONSTITUTION

AU092116 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 5 Jan 85 p 3

[Interview with Zivan Marelj, president of the Executive Council of Vojvodina, by Branko Trickovski; no place or date given]

[Excerpts] [Trickovski] It is obvious that certain disagreements exist about self-managing togetherness in the Republic of Serbia, regarding the place and role of Vojvodina under the Constitution. What can you say about that, Comrade Marelj?

[Marelj] According to the Constitution, the province, like the republic, is responsible for its own development and the development of the country as a whole, as well as for the development of the SR of Serbia, considering that it is a part of it. In the federation, the province realizes the joint interests determined by the Constitution on an equal footing with the republic. In the SR of Serbia, the working people, the peoples and nationalities of the province, realize a part of their sovereign rights determined by the Constitution of the SR of Serbia. We realize these interests to the extent and the manner determined by the Constitution. There are no dilemmas in this respect.

In addition to the positive results, these relations are burdened by some difficulties as regards the understanding of the place and role of the province in the constitutional set-up of the Yugoslav community as well as its place within the SR of Serbia.

In my opinion certain misunderstandings arise because--as a result of an inadequate interpretation of the Constitution of the SR of Serbia--the constitutional position of the province within the republic gets undermined with the adoption of certain laws, and the fact that the province is a constituent party of the republic is not sufficiently taken into account. The sensitivity of this question is particularly manifest in the field of socioeconomic relations and material development, which may have negative consequences for national equality. It is known that without full economic and political equality there is no national equality. Likewise I point out that the autonomy of the province--according to the Constitution--does not reduce to national and cultural peculiarities, and that the province is a broad self-managing community of equal peoples and nationalities that live in it and that must be equal to



other peoples and nationalities both in the SR of Serbia and in the federation. Any pressure on the province in the sense of reducing its autonomy as determined by the Constitution can only foster nationalism of every kind, irredentism, and changes in the foundations on which Yugoslavia is based, these being the equality of the peoples and nationalities, and of the republics and provinces. I believe that the responsibility of equal position of the SR of Serbia in the federation is not reduced by the fact that the provinces are autonomous to the extent provided in the SFRY Constitution.

When there were some disagreements, we always advocated a joint, patient, and well-argued clarification of the disputed questions and not a one-sided interpretation of the unity and togetherness of the SR of Serbia. Considering that the provinces within the SR of Serbia are also responsible for the development of the republic, they are also responsible for participating in the building of togetherness and unity of the republic. They cannot be bypassed in this respect.

Therefore, a problem always arises when--through a one-sided and inadequate interpretation of the Constitution of the SR of Serbia--it is proposed to adopt laws which restrict the constitutional rights of the provinces. In this way an actual revision of the Constitutions of the SR of Serbia and of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina is made without formal amendments to the Constitution. When this happens, it always leads to complications in relations between the republic and the province.

How do I see a way out of these disputes?

The way out is through a consistent implementation of the constitutional relations and provisions about the position of the provinces in the SR of Serbia and a further development and strengthening of self-management, within which the self managing ingredient in the essence of the sociopolitical communities will particularly strengthen. In addition, what is of great importance is the strengthening of the self-managing integration of associated labor and its free links all over the republic as well as in Yugoslavia as a whole. I believe that the key to unity and togetherness is here, and not only in the relations between state organs and their powers.

CSO: 2800/177

YUGOSLAVIA

ZAGREB COMMENTATOR LINKS 'EUROCOMMUNISM' WITH PCE PROBLEMS

LD192114 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Jan 85

[Text] At the beginning of the week a Spanish Communist Party [PCE] delegation led by Secretary Gerardo Iglesias visited the Italian Communist Party [PCI] Headquarters in Via delle Botteghe Oscure in Rome. This working inter-party exchange of views has prompted Zrnka Novak to write her commentary on some present-day dilemmas of Eurocommunism:

[Novak] Eurocommunism as the name for the orientation and strategy of a certain number of communist parties in the developed Western countries has become theoretically controversial and undefined, though the majority of new Yugoslav lexicographic publications interpret it as a generally accepted term. It should be placed on record that it has been established under such a name only in the PCE statute. This is concluded from the theoretical notes made by Santiago Carrillo, the party's former secretary general. It is, for instance, known that Enrico Berlinguer carefully avoided using this term, and that it could hardly be found in the official PCI documents. The French Communist Party, on the other hand, has also adopted a critical attitude because of the impreciseness of this term and also because of some other, let us say, political reasons.

But when we speak of the fate of Eurocommunism today, it should be recalled that the story about the name and its impreciseness by no means represent a scholastic exaggeration. The only Western Communist Party that has described in its statute its strategy as Eurocommunism is decimated today in conditions of the existence of yet another parallel party as well as of an opposition minority in its own Central Committee. You will maybe say that the drama of the PCE should not be so literally linked with the problem of names and terms; this is true, but as a witness of the last 11th PCE Congress I have become convinced of how an imprecise term, a word that everyone interprets in his own way, can cause dissent among those who think alike; for when the vote for or against Eurocommunism as a statutory guideline was taken, only a few more hands in favor of this term confirmed its place in the PCE statute. The ratio of votes was 51 to 49 percent. Of course, the event which I have described, as well as the entire crisis inside the PCE, has been explained and is almost explained today in various ways. I am aware of the risks involved in such deliberation about the term of Eurocommunism at a time when we have in the LCY some Eurocommunists of our own, as some prominent party leaders say. But, without calling into question the term itself, it is difficult to explain the

clash in the present PCE Central Committee, inside two Eurocommunist lines, that of Garardo Iglesias and that of Santiago Carrillo, and which neither the congress nor the Spanish reality, shaken by crisis, has succeeded in uniting.

Of course, it should be noted that for instance the PCI is in no respect less equal in the international workers' movement, though it has not in its statute recognized the legitimacy of the term Eurocommunism. For Eurocommunism--and this was so aptly pointed out by Enrico Berlinguer--just as any other term which is not fully defined suggests some kind of ghetto or even factionalism. This is precisely contrary to everything that Santiago Carrillo wanted to suggest through Eurocommunism in his theoretical works.

The communist and workers' parties in developed Western countries, with all their specific features and tradition, belong to the United International Workers' Movement. In such a movement, there should be relations of full equality and independence of parties, as laid down by the conclusions of the Berlin Conference. Thus the goals are the same, but the paths different and equitable. In such a context of relations Eurocommunism, which has so easily become part of the spoken language, of the press and even some scientific works as well as encyclopedic publications, becomes the undefined superstructure which not even the statutes of the parties to which it refers have confirmed, and unfortunately a serious stumbling block in the ranks of Spanish communists.

CSO: 2800/177

YUGOSLAVIA

LCY DISCUSSES NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER

LD162238 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1505 GMT 16 Jan 85

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 16 January (TANJUG)--At its session today, chaired by Dr Dusan Dragosavac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the LCY Central Committee Commission for International Cooperation discussed future actions and the struggle for the development of a new international economic order. By proceeding from the analysis and the introductory report submitted by Dr Tomislav Popovic, scientific associate of the Institute for International Policy and Economy, members of the commission particularly dealt with the LCY and SFRY contribution to the struggle for a new economic order in the world.

The new international economic order, the material prepared for the session stresses, represents a complex historical process in establishing new principles, criteria, institutes, and structures of international economic relations, the order of different equitable and sovereign subjects of international relations oriented toward the joint resolution of the historical heritage, and to the joint establishment of conditions and prospects for development and cooperation in the world.

The session of the LCY Central Commission discussed in particular the extent to which Yugoslavia as "a developed developing country"--by its geostrategic position in the Euro-Mediterranean zone, by its participation in the international division of labor, its extensive economic cooperation, in particular by strengthening economic relations with developing countries, by its degree of accumulation and the reproductive ability of its economy, its activity in the nonaligned movement, in the United Nations and its organizations and agencies--and the LCY, through its developed cooperation with progressive forces and movements in the world, could help create a new international economic order, in the context of mutually dependent promotion of peace and security and development of economic cooperation in the world.

CSO: 2800/177

YUGOSLAVIA

DIZDAREVIC DISCUSSES ROLE OF SFRY DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

LD110038 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 10 Jan 85

[Text] Zabreb, 10 January (TANJUG)--Raif Dizdarevic, member of the Federal Executive Council and federal secretary for foreign affairs, together with his associates had talks today with Ante Markovic, president of the Croat Executive Council, and his associates on topical issues of further promoting the work of Yugoslav diplomatic and consular missions in the world.

Along with the assessment that in the conditions of a very complex international political and economic situation, our diplomatic and consular officials are facing increasingly complex and responsible tasks, it was also stressed in the talks that Yugoslavia enjoyed great prestige in the world thanks to its consistent policy of nonalignment, and that our diplomatic and consular service represented a significant factor of our presence in the international political life.

It was also stressed that our diplomatic and consular missions should be more committed than they have been to promoting all forms of economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and the world and thus contribute to a fuller participation of the Yugoslav economy in the international division of labor. In this context, the need for filling vacancies with relevant cadres in our diplomatic and consular missions was also discussed.

While in Zagreb, the federal secretary for foreign affairs had meetings with Jaksa Petric, president of the Presidency of the SR of Croatia, Ivo Latin, president of the Croat Assembly, and Mika Spiljak, president of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee.

CSO: 2800/177

YUGOSLAVIA

LCY'S POZDERAC ADDRESSES PARTY SECRETARIES

LD152123 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1836 GMT 15 Jan 85

[Text] Belgrade, 15 January (TANJUG)--It is not a good thing that the discussions on what has to be changed in the political system and how began before the completion of a critical analysis which will show where the "bottlenecks" are. [Sentence as received] This was stressed by Hamdija Pozderac, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, during his meeting tonight with secretaries of party organizations in the organs and organizations of the federation.

I do not think, he added, that there is room for divisions into defenders and reformers of the constitution because we must all be in favor of changes based on socioeconomic relations which speed up the development of self-management. The fact that new solutions must always be sought and that what is not good must be overcome and abandoned is not in dispute, but Pozderac stressed, this must be in the spirit of AVNOJ and in the spirit of the continuity of our revolution. The political system conceived as a result of the 1974 constitution to a great extent still "marches into a void" because of the situation in socioeconomic relations, but we have never adequately grasped and taken note of this particular condition. True, our practice has not always driven us to do that, but the present time unavoidably requires it to be done. I think, he said, that stagnation of self-management in the basic organizations of associated labor, on which our entire economic system is based, entails far-reaching negative consequences for the development of our political system, especially the delegate system. It is not at all surprising if this situation suits our enemies and if they are trying to jeopardize the status of the basic organization of associated labor and work organizations. The political system such as we formulated 10 years ago can come to life only as a political system of associated labor and it is our commitment to seek solutions in that direction, Pozderac said, among other things.

CSO: 2800/177

YUGOSLAVIA

ATTENDANCE AT PRESIDENCY SESSION

AU161327 [Editorial Report] Belgrade Television Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1830 GMT on 12 December carries a 50-second video report on the session of the SFRY Presidency on that day discussing Veselin Djuranovic's report on his official and friendly visit to Kuwait and friendly talks held on the occasion.

The film clip shows the following at the session, in the usual room, sitting at the usual circular table in the following order, clockwise: an unknown man; Dobroslav Culafic, federal secretary for internal affairs; and Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council; two empty seats; Josip Vrhovec; Stane Dolanc; Branko Mikulic; an empty seat; Veselin Djuranovic; Secretary Muhamed Berberovic; Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Lazar Mojsov; Nikola Ljubicic; Sinan Hasani; one unknown man; one unrecognizable man; one unknown man; Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense; and Dusan Alimpic, president of the SFRY Assembly.

CSO: 2800/177

YUGOSLAVIA

CROATIA'S LATIN RECEIVES RELIGIOUS LEADERS

LD110040 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1840 GMT 10 Jan 85

[Text] Zabreb, 10 January (TANJUG)--Ivo Latin, president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, held the traditional new year's reception for representatives of the religious communities from the Republic [of Croatia] in Zagreb today. The reception in the palace in Radic Square was attended by Ante Markovic, president of the Croatian Executive Council: Cedo Paic, president of the Croat SAWP Republican Conference, and others.

Wishing the most prominent representatives of the religious communities a happy new year, Ivo Latin stressed that our community strictly adheres to the constitutional principles, including those which concern religion. Our country's citizens have confirmed the validity of these principles in practice by demonstrating their religious convictions at the major religious rallies aware of the fact that in our society there are no obstacles or limits to their expressing their religious beliefs. By taking on a considerable organizational and material burden our community has done its utmost to enable citizens to enjoy and achieve their constitutional rights, Latin said. The president of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Croatia went on to stress that conscious of the freedoms they have, our citizens believers, and the clergy have shown, by their exemplary behavior at last year's religious rallies, how highly they appreciate all that. In this way they confirmed that the constitutional principle according to which religious convictions are every person's private matter is not incompatible with his or her membership of the socialist self-managing social system. This is quite understandable, Latin said, if one bears in mind that the ethical and moral characteristics of their religions are on the same plane with their loyalty to the basic values of our society--brotherhood and unity, togetherness, self-managing socialism, independence, and Yugoslavia's nonaligned policy.

It is therefore regrettable, deeply regrettable that attempts have been made at exploiting politically our citizens' religious feelings, Latin stressed.

We expect all the religious communities in the Socialist Republic of Croatia to search, with their full sincerity and good will, for ways and means in which to contribute to the welfare and progress of our community and that each of us will take on our own share of responsibility before our people and our homeland. There is enough room in our society for everybody, including religious communities, to realize specific interests in the context of our basic social values, Ivo Latin said, among other things.



Reciprocating with congratulations and best wishes on behalf of the Catholic Church, Cardinal Franjo Kuharic, archbishop of Zagreb and chairman of the Yugoslav Episcopal Conference, stressed, among other things, that he wants to use the occasion to thank all those in the social sector, who, respecting the rights and convictions of believers, make efforts to ensure that last year's National and Eucharistic Congress he held in a peaceful and dignified atmosphere.

He went on to recall Pope John Paul II's message to the National and Eucharistic Congress in which it was stressed that the celebration should be used as an inspiration for the true and lasting reconciliation of all our brothers, believers and nonbelievers, based on the principle of full and mutual respect for everybody's rights and dignity. Only in this way can we advance together toward general well-being and harmonious and constructive peace. Cardinal Franjo Kuharic then spoke about the difficult situation confronting the world, stressing that humanity has never before in its long history been so threatened. He also made reference to the position of the church both in the world and in our country today.

Simeon Zlokovic, Serbian Orthodox Bishop of Karlovac, stressed that none of us should ever forget that we are living together, sharing the same fate at this, most sensitive, crossroad of the world. We all have to practice tolerance, mutual respect, and must accept the fact that only together can we widen the scope for brotherhood, togetherness, human freedom humanizing the world to which, in the church we are bound by Christ's Gospel, and in society by socialist humanism, Simeon Zlokovic, Bishop of Karlovac, stressed.

Addressing those present on behalf of the Islamic religious community Sevk Omerbasic, Imam of Zagreb, expressed his satisfaction with cooperation so far and with the good relations. He also expressed a desire that the successful development of relations be continued this year as well, stressing that the Islamic religious community will do everything in its power to achieve this. The construction of the Zagreb mosque is one of the results of sound and successful cooperation, Imam Omerbasic stressed, among other things.

CSO: 2800/177

YUGOSLAVIA

PARIS PAPER INTERVIEWS SFRY PREMIER PLANINC

PM221630 Paris LE MONDE in French 18 Jan 85 p 7

[Interview with Milka Planinc, president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, by Daniel Vernet in Paris--date not given]

[Text] [Vernet] How do you view the continuation of the austerity program which your government has introduced to steer Yugoslavia out of the economic crisis?

[Planinc] We have already achieved significant results, but we are not merely seeking to strengthen our economy. We also want to introduce new criteria to enable the self-managed enterprises to face the national world market. The test of success is the market. This is the first stage. We are probably not yet adequately aware of the beneficial effects of the results obtained, but they exist. The second phase must be one of opening up to foreign markets, and this is why we must be competitive.

[Vernet] The effects of the stabilization plan have been severe enough for Yugoslavs....

[Planinc] It is true that the structural changes in our economy have been accompanied by a fall in living standards. But the improvement in the situation last year made it possible to reduce the loss of income. I would like to stress that the decline in purchasing power was not caused by measures taken directly by the state; incomes policy has remained within the competence of the economic organizations. The right conditions have now been established for reversing the trend, while the increase in production creates more favorable conditions for employment.

[Vernet] Do you think that you can secure from your creditors the financing of your foreign debt over several years and French Government support for this undertaking?

[Planinc] Negotiations are at present at a delicate stage, and I cannot tell you when we will reach agreement. But I think it is in the interest of the creditor countries and the banks for Yugoslavia to remain a good partner. We have encountered a great deal of understanding in France and have shown for our part that we are prepared to make the necessary efforts to fulfill our obligations.

[Vernet] What measures do you think France should take to increase bilateral economic exchanges?

[Planinc] We do not enjoy enough freedom for our exports. We constantly meet with problems as regards meat, wine, and so forth. The new EEC expansion is an objective threat to our exports, which had to be reduced when Britain, and especially Greece, joined.

The French demand much more stringent and thorough technical standards for our products than the other West European countries.... We want to sign long-term agreements with French firms and make more joint investments in Yugoslavia on the basis of our new law, which is relatively liberal on foreign investments.

We would like the French Foreign Trade Assurance Company to draw up terms with Yugoslavia for insuring markets--terms no worse than those of other West European countries. We want the commercial banks to have normal business relations with our banks.

#### New Solutions

[Vernet] What is your position in the discussions on the reform of the political system which have been going on in Yugoslavia over the past few months?

[Planinc] One thing is certain: Even if new solutions are proposed for a more efficient way of running the political system, they will not call into question the SFRY's fundamental constitutional lines adopted during our national liberation struggle.

Nor can we change our cadre policy, which is based on the principle of fair representation in decisionmaking on common questions at federation level for all nations and nationalities, for our republics and our autonomous provinces.

However, the solutions proposed ought to make it possible to end extremes. I am thinking partly of an excessively broad application of the principle of collegial decisions and of the rotation of cadres, which is sometimes applied to jobs which do not require it.

[Vernet] You are said to have done a great deal yourself to boost the central government's prestige. Do you think the powers you have are adequate, especially at a time when you have to implement a policy of economic austerity?

[Planinc] There can be no strong government in Yugoslavia without democratic relations, without equality between nationalities. We must take account of these factors. Our government has many problems, but a very strong government which was highly centralized at federal level would have even more problems.

#### The Belgrade Trial

[Vernet] The trial of six dissident intellectuals in Belgrade has aroused anger in Western countries, where it is certainly damaging Yugoslavia's image. Do you think it necessary, for the cohesion of Yugoslav society, to respond to ideological dissidence by legal means?

[Planic] The development of a self-managing socialist society logically gives rise to arguments which often conflict. Our constitutional system encourages the exchange of views and dialogue, with the aim of reaching good solutions.

However, when it comes to activities whose aim is to violate the fundamental constitutional rules, the competent authorities have the right and duty to act according to the Constitution and the laws. Thus it is impossible to talk of "ideological dissidence" when dealing with activities aimed at undermining our social system.

The trial you mention is under way. It is a matter for the legal bodies, since our legal system is independent, we cannot prejudge the verdict. It is the court which will decide whether or not aspects of the defendants' behavior are a criminal matter.

[Vernet] What is your view of the resumption of dialogue between Washington and Moscow? Some observers in Western Europe fear that an agreement could be reached between the two superpowers at Europe's expense. Do you share this viewpoint?

[Planinc] We regard the Shultz-Gromyko meeting in Geneva as a long-awaited, encouraging development. I think we have all worked to replace the deterioration of American-Soviet relations with detente. Real progress would facilitate the settlement of international problems. We are committed to this in the nonaligned movement, of which we are very active members. Nonetheless, there is some truth in the viewpoint which you mention. But there is no other choice but dialogue, and the whole of Europe must act to avoid being excluded from it.

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YUGOSLAVIA

TANJUG REPORTS USSR TREATMENT OF WW II ANNIVERSARY

LD202311 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0200 GMT 20 Jan 85

[TANJUG Heading--"Banner headline: 'The Torment' of Soviet Historiography  
Title: Criteria of Contributions to Victory  
Subtitle: Why did Bulgarians not Liberate Sofia?--East Germans Praise Stalin--  
Sensitivity to Forging of History in the West--Treatment of Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Moscow, 20 January (TANJUG)--A few days ago a documentary television film devoted to the fighters of the Third Ukrainian Front was shown. With the help of archive material, old films, photographs and new material, the multimillion audience could watch the main progress of the fighters of the Third Ukrainian Front who, starting in Odessa and proceeding to Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Austria, ended the war in Germany.

Lovely old military songs, stories of those who survived and authentic photographs took many back to that difficult but glorious time.

The text read by the announcer did not, of course, go beyond the framework of the present "official" historiography. Among other things, one heard again that Bulgarian troops took part in the operation to liberate Belgrade!

A Yugoslav, a former partisan, who watched this series had only one comment to make: Well, why did the Bulgarians not participate in liberating Sofia?

No answer is sought or given here to that question. It is not even mentioned that the USSR in September 1944 declared war on fascist Bulgaria. But it is nearly always mentioned that Bulgarians did not fire a single shot in World War II on Soviet soldiers; but neither is it mentioned that at that time the Bulgarians were too much involved in Yugoslavia, in the battles against Yugoslav partisans and the National Liberation Army.

The reason for such a double criterion is political. It must be acknowledged that Soviet historiography is in a fairly delicate position in view of the fact that it must take into account the "special treatment" of its present "Warsaw allies," more than half of whom, during World War II were on "the opposite side," Bulgaria in particular.

That this is a delicate matter is also demonstrated by the recent example which came from the GDR. There the party organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND published on

11 January a long document in connection with the 40th anniversary of the victory over German fascism. It also mentions in several places Josif Stalin and even uses the long forgotten but once much used formulation of "the wise leadership headed by Stalin." The Soviet Press, for understandable reasons, has reported only very briefly and meagerly what the East Germans think about World War II, without mentioning Stalin, of course, with a single word.

The sensitivity appears to have had above all an internal, soviet dimension.

The sensitivity of both the official policy and historiography is much greater when it comes to Western assessments of World War II in which an attempt is made to disparage the Soviet role.

It is known that the USSR bore the brunt of the war. This is demonstrated by successes in the battlefield as well as by the great number of victims --20 million. Anybody denying this historical fact is undoubtedly trying to "reshape history" or, as is stated here clearly and loudly--"to forge history."

["Subtitle: 'Tendentious Orientation'"--TANJUG heading]

A book entitled "The Great Patriotic War in Soviet Historiography" by Doctor of Sciences Colonel Yuriy Perechnov, head of the Science Department of the USSR Defense Ministry Institute of Military History, has recently come off the presses.

The basic criterion to determine this contribution is the political aim of the war, that is where and on which side a state was and what did it fight for. The second criterion is "the ability to make a positive contribution to and influence is the consolidation of the anti-Hitler Coalition." As the fate of a war is resolved on the battlefield, the basic criteria are the indicators of the armed struggle: breadth, activity, duration and results of military activities.

The author notes that the theme of World War II is one of the main aspects of historical sciences in the USSR. Many books have been published about the last war--the author says that in the period up to 1973 alone, 14,500 books--encyclopedias, studies, scientific reports, etc. were published.

Colonel Perechnov notes that "the influence exerted by individual states on the course of the war and its outcome represents a special subject which has an important political significance," and points to bourgeois historians, whose concepts have "an explicit tendentious orientation." Their aim, the author says, is to diminish the role of the USSR and "the significance of its armed forces over German fascist armies." The other aim is "to make use of the history of the world war as an instrument of psychological war." Therefore, he says, it is important to establish "strict scientific criteria" which determine the contribution made by individual states in World War II and to the common victory.

Even a layman in military matters has to agree with these criteria. The problem, however, is how these criteria are applied, in particular in the author's country.

One could in fact start from the author of the above-mentioned book who clearly defined the criteria, but he evidently abandoned them when he went over to the concrete sphere. Let us mention only that it is precisely he who, after everything which he wrote as regards the principles lumped Yugoslavia together with Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania and some other countries which the "Soviet Army delivered from fascist occupation." He also employs the "same principle" when he writes about supplying "the armies of Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary" with arms and ammunition.

In fact, this is nothing new. The school textbook for higher grades of the secondary school ("Novija Istorija" 1917-1945, 1984 edition) recommended by the USSR Ministry of Education, the Yugoslav contribution in World War II is dealt with within the framework of the chapter dealing with the "resistance movement." Without underrating at all the resistance movements in various European and other countries which the author lists (from France to the Philippines), it is nevertheless clear even to an average cognoscente of history that what is involved is the order in which the dimensions of various values are presented.

Several recent major articles and studies in Soviet periodicals (KOMMUNIST, MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN, etc.) publicly demonstrate the tendency to disparage the Yugoslav contribution to the victory in World War II. This is achieved precisely by all being lumped together, the fighters and nonfighters, the victors and the defeated in the past war. The tendency is clear: The Yugoslav liberation struggle and the socialist revolution is being disparaged (because it is equated with the coups in Bulgaria, Romania or even East Germany). The Yugoslav armed struggle is underrated, it is being "pushed into a resistance movement." There is a book which even says that "the conditions for the partisan struggle were most favorable in Yugoslavia." Perhaps this is the reason for the struggle having begun in 1941. The economic and military aid toward the end of the war and immediately after is also being exaggerated.

Were the Soviet historians to apply consistently "strict scientific criteria" which Colonel Perechnov had precisely outlined, they would certainly obtain a different picture about who had contributed and how much to the joint victory over fascism. As matters stand at present--theory is one thing, and practice another. These "scientific criteria" would evidently not apply only to the Soviet Union.

[Signed] Aleksandar Novacic

CSO: 2800/177

YUGOSLAVIA

SUNDIC CONDEMNS DISTORTIONS OF FASCISM'S DEFEAT

LD202214 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 85

[Text] Preparations to mark the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism mean, of course, much more than the mere fact that 4 whole decades have elapsed since that crucial event of our more recent history. They, illustrate beautifully the present relations in the international community, by showing how some see themselves and others in WW II; they even raise the question of how much distance in time is actually needed for some historical facts to become just that. Here is Milika Sundic:

The GDR has decided to celebrate the 40th anniversary of the surrender of the Third Reich as the day of liberation. In the FRG, however, various measures are being taken to ignore, at all cost, the day of victory over fascism. Efforts are made, among other things, to have the western allies, the United States, Great Britain, and France, behave in the same way. Tacit consent has already been obtained from Paris and London that nothing will be done to offend the feelings of the Germans. Bonn hopes that official Washington too will also refrain from manifestations that would recall the former alliance with the Soviet Union.

In the East, however, in particular in the Soviet Union, preparations are in full swing to mark the day of victory over fascism as a significant historical date, and, in this context, emphasis is laid on the Soviet Union's decisive contribution in WW II. Along with that, the role of the Western allies--the United States, Great Britain, and France--is minimized, while the role of the national liberation army of Yugoslavia is equated with the contribution by countries which had, right up to just before the end of the war, been on the side of the Third Reich, like Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania. In numerous recently published articles and publications, there has been practically no serious attempt to throw true light on anybody else's role in crushing German fascism except the role of the Red Army. True enough, this is nothing new, because the CPSU program, published at the end of 1961, also says that the Soviet Union had saved mankind from fascist enslavement. There is no mention at all of the contribution made by other countries, of which Great Britain, for instance, entered the war with fascist Germany at a time when the Soviet-German pact signed by Molotov and Ribbentrop was still in force, not to mention others, such as the United States or Yugoslavia, for instance.



In following the example set by Soviet publications, Bulgaria material is also published nearly every day about the contribution made by the Bulgarian Army in the liberation of Yugoslavia and about the great alliance with the Red Army. At times, one has the impression that there is practically no difference between the Soviet and Bulgarian articles on the final operation in the European theatre of war. Although the Bulgarian view of WW II could to some extent also be understood, though not justified, it is incomprehensible that this is also done in the Soviet Union for no one disputes that it bore the greatest burden in WW II. So, this being the case, the question logically arises, why does the Soviet Union minimize or dispute the contribution made by other countries and armies in crushing German fascism and Japanese militarism. It is even more difficult to explain away the alleged revolutions in some East European countries and their comparison with the revolution in Yugoslavia, which had fought foreign enslavers and quisling forces for 4 long years and which had scored a victory worthy of everyone's admiration including that of the enemy.

The 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism will also be marked in Yugoslavia this year. But, this will be done in a dignified manner, without concealing the truth about all who, proportionate to their possibilities, contributed to the defeat of fascism. History has already said everything it has to say about the Yugoslav revolution and the victims Yugoslavia had on the way to its liberation, and no kind of reshaping of history could minimize the Yugoslav participation in WW II. They who do so, will, in all likelihood, also continue to do so, but history will never forgive them for that because history does not acknowledge untruths and forgeries.

CSO: 2800/177

YUGOSLAVIA

BRIEFS

OFFICIALS SMUGGLE COFFEE--Banjaluka, 14 January (TANJUG)--Eight persons received prison sentences ranging from 6 months to 4 years, and four were fined for the illicit traffic involving some 18 tons of coffee in Banjaluka, Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina today. Branko Kalas, an unemployed driver from Banjaluka, was sentenced to 4 years in prison. The court established that from July to late September last year, 12 persons, including Austrian citizen Walter Batl, illegally distributed some 18 tons of coffee which had been smuggled into Yugoslavia by Jovan Antunovic temporarily employed in Linz, Austria. Although summoned, Antunovic did not appear in court. Two employees of the Banjaluka Internal Affairs Secretariat also involved in the affair will be tried separately. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG in English 1742 GMT 14 Jan 85 LD]

GUINEA ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS--Belgrade, 14 January (TANJUG)--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received credentials from Mamadou Diallo, newly-appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Guinea to the SFRY, and afterward had a friendly conversation with him. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1512 GMT 14 Jan 85 LD]

ITALIAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION--Belgrade, 15 January (TANJUG)--Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, today received a delegation of the Defense Committee of the Italian Chamber of Deputies headed by its chairman, Attilio Ruffini. The delegation is paying a 5-day official visit to the SFRY at the invitation of the National Defense Committee of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly. During the talks with Federal Secretary Raif Dizdarevic, there was an exhaustive exchange of views on some of the most topical questions regarding bilateral and international relations. Both sides confirmed their wish to continue to develop the highly successful relations and comprehensive cooperation between the two neighboring countries. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 16 Jan 85 LD]

CROAT COURT HEAD--Zagreb, 16 January (TANJUG)--In connection with assuming office as president of the Croat Constitutional Court, Mile Babic was sworn in today before Jaksa Petric, president of the Presidency of the SR of Croatia. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1401 GMT 16 Jan 85 LD]

BELOVSKI RECEIVES PCI OFFICIAL--Belgrade, 16 January (TANJUG)--Dimce Belovski, secretary of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, has received Massimo Miccuci, a senior official in the International Department of the PCI Central Committee who is paying a short working visit to our country for routine consultations between representatives of the LCY and the PCI. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1009 GMT 16 Jan 85 LD]

MAMULA RECEIVES ITALIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS--Belgrade, 18 January (TANJUG)--Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, today received at the Federal Secretariat for National Defense the delegation of the Defense Committee of the Italian Chamber of Deputies. The delegation, led by Attilio Ruffini, the committee's chairman, is visiting our country as guests of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber's National Defense Committee. The meeting and talks between Admiral Mamula and the guests from neighboring Italy took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere; they represented an exchange of views on bilateral relations as a whole. The talks also dealt with the need to develop further and to deepen relations of the scientific-technical and military-economic cooperation between the two friendly countries. Colonel General Milan Daljevic, under-secretary at the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, and other associates of the Federal Secretariat attended the meeting and the talks. Massimo Castaldo, the Italian ambassador in Yugoslavia, was also present at the talks. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1303 GMT 18 Jan 85 LD]

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION--Sarajevo 21 January (TANJUG)--According to the latest figures released by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Statistical Institute, industrial production in the republic in 1984 was 4.7 percent over that for 1983. The increase was recorded despite shortages in reproduction and raw materials. Ten industrial sectors recorded production increases of between 5 and 10 percent, with ferrous metal processing registering a rise of 47.3 percent and chemical industry 17.6 percent. [Summary] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0953 GMT 21 Jan 85 LD]

NEW ENVOY TO ZIMBABWE--Belgrade 22 January (TANJUG)--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, has received Naum Ackovski, newly-appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SFRY in the Republic of Zimbabwe, before the latter's departure to assume his duties. [Text] [Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1232 GMT 22 Jan 85 LD]

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